

CENTRAL EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL TEXTS

General Editors

PATRICK GEARY, GERHARD JARITZ, GÁBOR KLANICZAY, PAVLÍNA RYCHTEROVÁ

Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle

Edited by
JÁNOS M. BAK
and
LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY



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STUDIES ON THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

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SUBSIDIA 1

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	vii
List of Illustrations	ix
Preface	xiii
Orsolya Karsay: The Codex of the Illuminated Chronicle	i
János M. Bak and Ryszard Grzesik: The Text of the <i>Chronicle of the deeds of the Hungarians</i>	5
Ernő Marosi: The Illuminations of the Illuminated Chronicle	25
György Rácz: The Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary and its Reflections in the Illuminated Chronicle	111
Martyn Rady: Attila and the Hun Tradition in Hungarian Medieval Texts	127
Dániel Bagi: The Dynastic Conflicts of the Eleventh Century in the Illuminated Chronicle	139
Kornél Szovák: The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St. Ladislas and the Illuminated Chronicle)	159
Balázs Kertész: The Afterlife of the Fourteenth-Century Chronicle Compositions	181
Credits	199
Index nominum	201

ABBREVIATIONS

General

b.	born
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cf.	<i>confronte</i> , compare
d.	died
ed(s),	editor(s), edited by
et al.	et alii, and others
MS	manuscript
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
OSzK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library, Budapest)
p., pp.	page(s)
repr.	reprint/ed
trans.	translator, translated by
vol(s).	volume(s)

Titles quoted in abbreviation

IC	<i>Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e codice picto saec. xix. The Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the fourteenth-century Illuminated Chronicle</i> , ed. János M. Bak, and László Vezprémy. (CEMT 9.) Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2018.
SRH	<i>Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum</i> , ed. Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest: Universitas Litterarum, 1937–38; repr. Vác: Nap Kiadó, 1999.
CEMT	Central European Medieval Texts. Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 1999–.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Ernő Marosi: The Illuminations of the Illuminated Chronicle

Figure 1. <i>Secretum secretorum</i> , Oxford, Hertford College 2 /EN 2/, fol. 1r	27
Figure 2. a) <i>Secretum secretorum</i> , Oxford, Hertford College 2 /EN 2/, fol. 1r, detail ...	28
Figure 2. b) Detail of the frame of the panel with the Virgin Mary ("Schatzkammerbild"), Mariazell	28
Figure 3. The top of p. 1 of the IC	31
Figure 4. Second seal of majesty King Louis I (1364), avers	31
Figure 5. King Robert of Naples throning, between virtues, Anjou-Bible, Mechelen, Groot Seminarie, Cod. 1, fol. 1v	33
Figure 6 a-b) The forms of bad and good government. Nicole Oresme, Aristotle, Politics and Economics. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 11202 foll. 1v-2r	36
Figure 7. Pepin crowned by Pope Stephen II, <i>Les Grandes Chroniques de France</i> , after 1314. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. fr. 2615, fol. 72v r	40
Figure 8. Coronation of John the Good, <i>Les Grandes Chroniques de France</i> , after 1314. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. fr. 2813, fol. 393r	40
Figure 9a. Homage of King Peter to Emperor Henry III, IC MS. p. 53	41
Figure 9b. Charles IV., Detail of the votive panel of Archbishop Jan Očko z Vlašime (Očko von Wlaschim), 1371–75, Prague, Národní Galerie	41
Figure 10. Homage of King Solomon to Emperor Henry IV, IC MS p. 89	41
Figure 11. Henry III's homage to Saint Louis, <i>Les Grandes Chroniques de France</i> , 1360–80, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. fr. 2813, fol. 290r	42
Figure 12. Edward III's homage to Philip of Valois, <i>Les Grandes Chroniques de France</i> , 1360–80, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. fr. 2813, fol. 357	42

Figure 13. The foundation of Vác cathedral, IC MS. p. 87	42
Figure 14. The pursuit of the stag taking refuge in Saint-Denis, <i>Les Grandes Chroniques de France</i> , 1335–40, London, British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol. 92	43
Figure 15. The Huns' hunt (detail): underdrawing of a figure under the fragmentary painting, IC MS p. 4	45
Figure 16. The Huns' victory, detail: underdrawing to horses, IC MS p.9	45
Figure 17. Punched ornament on the gold ground, IC. MS p. 4	47
Figure 18. Punched ornament on the gold ground, IC MS p. 7	47
Figure 19. The pope bestowing ecclesiastical dignities. In: Boniface VIII, <i>Decretales</i> , Bologna, 1350s, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2042, fol. 1r	54
Figure 20. Louis of Taranto and Queen Joan of Naples before the Holy Trinity, <i>Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit</i> , Cristoforo Orimina, about 1354. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms.fr. 4274. fol. 1r	56
Figure 21. Louis of Taranto venerated by knights and poor men, <i>Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit</i> , Cristoforo Orimina, about 1354. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms.fr. 4274. fol. 51v	57
Figure 22. The assembly at Arad, IC MS. p. 113	57
Figure 23. King Béla IV, IC MS p. 126	59
Figure 24. King Béla II, IC MS p. 114	59
Figure 25. Simone Martini: St. Ladislav, Altomonte, Museo di Sta Maria della Consolazione	59
Figure 26. Golden Florin of King Louis the Great, CNH II.64B	60
Figure 27. The Last Judgement, detail, Nékse-Bible, before 1338, Washington, Library of Congress, Ms. Pre-Accession 1, fol 5v	61
Figure 28. <i>Matricola dei merciai</i> , 1328. Bologna, Museo Civico, N. 85, fol. 1	61
Figure 29. Dukes of the Hungarians, IC MS. p. 26	62
Figure 30. Andrea da Firenze: The descending of the Holy Spirit, detail of a vault fresco, from 1365. Florence, Sta Maria Novella, <i>Cappella degli Spagnuoli</i>	64
Figure 31. The dukes of the Trojans, Guido delle Colonne, <i>Historia destructionis Troiae</i> , Venice, about 1370, fol. 26. Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana	65
Figure 32. The judgement of Paris, Guido delle Colonne, <i>Historia destructionis Troiae</i> , Venice, about 1370, fol. 17v. Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana	66
Figure 33. The Trojan horse, Guido delle Colonne, <i>Historia destructionis Troiae</i> , Venice, about 1370, fol. 17v. Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana	66

Figure 34. Viaticum. Infortiatum-codex, Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana Ms. S. IV	71
Figure 35. Seal of Jeanne de Boulogne, first wife of King John (the Fair) II of France, 1356, Paris, Archives Nationales, 166	72
Figure 36. The Glatz Madonna, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie	72
Figure 37. King David, Breviary of provost Vitko of Rajhrad, 1342, Brno, University Library, cod. R 394, fol. 9r	72
Figure 38. The Holy Trinity, Wrocław, Museum Śląskie	73
Figure 39. <i>Cathedra Petri</i> , Lectionary from Vyšehrad, Vörs, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 265, vol. II, fol. 260r	73
Figure 40. Willehalm-manuscript, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek., Cod. Guelf. 30.12 Aug. 2°	75
Figure 41. Defeat of the army Kings Charles I in the war against Basarab, a) IC MS p. 143	76
b) IC MS p. 148	76
Figure 42. The entry with the Arch of the Covenant in Jerusalem, Venceslas-Bible, II, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Vindob. 2760, fol. 81r	76
Figure 43. Entering of different nations, IC MS p. 32	78
Figure 44. The Conquest of Hungary, IC MS p. 21	78
Figure 45. Miracle of the Spring, Assisi, S. Francesco Upper Church, St. Francis-cycle, fresco, 1290s	79
Figure 46. Taddeo Gaddi: Annunciation to Joachim, fresco, Florence, Sta Croce Baroncelli-Chapel, soon after 1328	79
Figure 47. Taddeo Gaddi: Annunciation to the shepherds, fresco, Florence, Sta Croce Baroncelli-Chapel, soon after 1328	79
Figure 48. Pisa, Camposanto, The Triumph of the Death, detail	80
Figure 49. <i>Nix et glacies, Tacuinum sanitatis</i> , Lombardy, end of the fourteenth century, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 4182, fol. 174	80
Figure 50. <i>Noli me tangere</i> , fresco, Naples, San Domenico Maggiore, Brancaccio- Chapel	81
Figure 51. Birth of Saint Stephen, IC MS p. 37	83
Figure 52. Filippo Rusuti: The dream of Pope Liberius, detail of mosaic, facade of the Church S. Maria Maggiore, Rome	84
Figure 53. The seven dukes of the Hungarians, woodcut, Thuróczi, <i>Chronica</i> , Brno 1486, fol. 1v	84

Figure 54. The Entry of the Tartars, Thuróczi, <i>Chronica</i> , Augsburg 1486	85
Figure 55. Burial of a king of England, De Exequiis regalibus (1364?), <i>Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonstariensis</i> ("Litlyngton Missal") Westminster Abbey MS 37, fol. 224r	88
György Rácz: The Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary and its Reflections in the Illuminated Chronicle	
Figure 1. The Anjou coat of arms in the <i>Armorial</i> of Herold Gelre, from Tamás Körmendi, "Dalmácia címere a középkori magyar királyok heraldikai reprezentációjában" [The coat-of-arms of Dalmatia in the heraldic representation of medieval Hungarian kings] In: <i>Archivarium historicorumque magistra</i> . Budapest: Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete, 2013, Table II, 1.	115
Balázs Kertész: The Afterlife of the Fourteenth-Century Chronicle Compositions	
Figure 1. Page 1 of the Bicsérdy Codex	191

PREFACE

The present volume of studies is the first *Subsidium* of the Central European Medieval Text series, accompanying CEMT vol. 9. As mentioned there, the volume of the text and its annotations did not allow for the inclusion of the usual detailed introduction into the same volume. That is why we are publishing these studies in a separate book. For the text and illustrations, readers should consult the bilingual edition and the facsimile on CD attached to the edition-translation.

After the initial short codicological information, the first three studies analyze the text and the illuminations of the *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (henceforth IC for Illuminated Chronicle) in its literary-historical, art historical, and heraldic contexts. They also summarize the extensive—mainly Hungarian—scholarly literature on the IC that goes back more than two hundred years. Three additional studies address issues connected with the narrative. Since the IC starts with the history of the Huns, the imaginary ancestors of the Hungarians, the first discusses the Attila tradition in Hungarian history writing. The second analyzes the extensive coverage of the dynastic struggles of the eleventh century, placing them into the context of *amicitia* and *deditio*. The third study treats the image of King St. Ladislas I as the “ideal king,” as presented in his legend and the IC, a topic that received conspicuously detailed coverage in the chronicle. Finally, a paper discusses the fate of the fourteenth-century chronicle texts during the subsequent centuries, their appearance in legal texts, and their reception abroad.

We hope that these studies will elucidate the place of the IC in history writing and art, and allow interested readers to appreciate the many layers of its significance.

The editors are indebted—besides the authors of the studies—primarily to the National Széchényi Library for the cooperation in bringing out this volume, containing as it does, two papers that were originally prepared for their planned facsimile edition. Generous permissions from libraries and museums to reproduce illustrations are acknowledged in detail on p. 199.



The first page of the MS OSzK Cod. Lat. 403 (IC)

THE CODEX OF THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

Orsolya Karsay

The codex of the IC is kept in the Manuscript Collection of the National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest = OSzK), with the shelf-mark Cod. Lat. 404. It was produced in Hungary, in and after 1358, most probably in the royal court. The codex is made up of 1 + 74 parchment sheets; one paper folio has been bound to the beginning and thirty-one to the end. The collation is: IV^(flyleaf without numbering, ff. 1–7) + IV^(ff. 8–15) + IV^(ff. 16–23) + IV^(ff. 24–31) + IV^(ff. 32–39) + IV^(ff. 40–47) + IV^(ff. 48–55) + IV^(ff. 56–63) + IV^(ff. 64–71) + IV-5^(ff. 72–74) = 10 IV-5. The pages are 303 x 210 mm in size, so-called small folios. The text is written by one hand in calligraphic Gothic book hand. The Chronicle is laid out in two columns, with thirty-three lines, broken up by chapter titles (rubrics) written in red, or, where these are missing, by paragraph marks. The text is accompanied by thirty-nine miniatures, four medallions, ninety-eight historiated or inhabited and five decorated initials. Catchwords are each time at the very bottom of the verso of a quire's last leaf, in the middle, surrounded by modest pen and ink drawing. The binding, made of white leather mounted on paperboard with linear ornamentation originates from the second half of the sixteenth century, from the bookbinding workshop of the Austrian court.¹

The IC was acquired by the National Széchényi Library in 1933 (then called the Library of the National Museum), following the 1932 Venice Agreement, which made provisions for the artistic treasures that had been in joint ownership until the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. At that time a large number of invaluable artifacts were transferred from Austria to Hungary and to other successor states, and conversely, from the successors back to Austria. This is when, along with many

* Originally written for a planned facsimile edition some years ago. Abridged, updated and edited by Edina Zsupán and the editors.

¹ For a detailed description of the codex, see also BARTONIEK 1940, 404 and KARSAY 2000, 70.

other unique Hungarica, chronicle manuscripts, and Corvinas that had been kept in the Hofbibliothek of Vienna (the present-day Austrian National Library), the “Vienna IC” finally passed into the ownership of the Hungarian public collections, while the adjective referring to its earlier long-term home is gradually disappearing from its name.

It is not known how and when the IC arrived in Vienna. None of the hypotheses (via France, Serbia or Stambul) can be substantiated. The first time it appears in the catalogue of the Hofbibliothek is in the early eighteenth century.² The more than three centuries of its stay in Vienna have left several marks on the codex, connected partly with librarians and partly with bookbinders.

On the recto of the flyleaf and the title page of the codex, over and next to the stamp testifying to the ownership of the “Library of the Hungarian National Museum” there are two stamps of the Hofbibliothek, one in German and one in Latin.

In Vienna, the codex was remarked three times. The earliest shelf mark, as listed in the aforementioned catalogue, is on the title page: “No. 456. Hist. Lat. Hungariae Chronicon Manuscriptum.” The note is from the hand of Sebastian Tegnagel, *Präfekt* of the library between 1608 and 1635,³ with the exception of the “Hist. Lat.” class mark, which is from Peter Lambeck (*Präfekt* 1663–80). By the middle of the seventeenth century, the mark was already “Hist. Lat.” as it is shown by the fragment of the label on the spine of the binding. The third and final mark is on the flyleaf: “Cod. 405.” made by an unknown person, who changed the last digit from 4 to 5.

The pages of the codex have been renumbered on two occasions. First, Lambeck entered page numbers in pencil, and the second time another hand added folio numbers in pen. In our edition, Lambeck’s page numbers appear in the Latin text in brackets and on the margin. It is these numbers that are generally used in references to the IC.

Referring to his own work published first in Vienna in 1666, Lambeck wrote this note on the verso of the flyleaf:

Anonymi cuiusdam auctoris Chronicon Hungariae in codice membranaceo msto in folio minori, inter Historicos Latinos num. 456, scriptus A. C. 1358, variis inauratis picturis spectatu dignissimis exornatus, ex quo Joannes de Thurecz alias de Thurocz et Turocius dictus (qui sub rege Matthia Corvino potissimum floruit,) res gestas Hungarorum ab origine gentis usque ad A. C. 1342. seu mortem regis Caroli, patris regis Ludovici, quas sub titulo Chronicae Hungarorum edidit,

² [Sebastian Tegnagel] *Catalogi manuscriptorum, theologorum, juridicorum, historicorum, philosophicorum et philologicorum, medicorumque Bibliothecae augustissimae caesariae vindebonensis*. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 9531, Part *Historicorum* I-461 (ff. 103^r–141^v), No 456.

³ On him, see: PETSCHAR 1993.

*partim simpliciter, partim interpolate mutuatus est. Vide: Lambecii Diarium Cellense,*⁴ *pag. 61, 62, 267.* [A chronicle of Hungary by an anonymous author in a small-size manuscript parchment codex in the series of Latin chroniclers number 456 from 1358, decorated with various spectacular gilded images, from which János Thurecz, a.k.a. Thuróczi or Turocius (who lived mostly under King Matthias Corvinus) published the history of Hungarians from the origins of the nation up to 1342, the year when King Charles, the father of King Louis the Great died; giving it the title the Chronicle of Hungarians, in parts directly borrowing, and in other parts adding his supplements. See Lambecius, *Diarium Cellense*, pages 61, 62, 267.]

Although Lambeck was mistaken in giving the final year of the Chronicle, as it records events only up to 1330, he was certainly correct about the later use of the text.

During its stay in Vienna the codex was twice restored and rebound according to the note on the recto of the flyleaf. The more recent one is registered as *Dorsum voluminis restauratum mense Junio a. 1913. Kraelitz, Beer*. The two names are likely to be those of the restorers and/or bookbinders. In the course of the restoration work, the pages of the codex were cut and as a result of this, sadly, some notes on the margins, and even some of the decorations have been damaged.

The barely visible marginal note over the Latin words on the title page, which must have been added by a former owner of the codex, most probably dates back to the period before the IC was taken to Vienna. The hand-written marginalia in Hungarian but written in Arabic script here and at a few other places in the codex may have been from a Turkish reader who probably possessed the codex for a period of time. The note on the title page is in Hungarian: *Turóds János krónikája*, that is, “The Chronicle of János Turóds [recte: Thuróczi].” All other Latin and Hungarian marginalia, noted in the critical apparatus of the CEMT edition, also suggest that the codex was used by persons knowing Hungarian.

Editions of various value, some with illustrations or—more recently—with facsimile are listed in the edition-translation, pp.

⁴ See LAMBECK 1710.

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- KARSAY 2000 Karsay, Orsolya, ed. *Cimélia. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár középkori kincsei* [Cimelia: The medieval treasures of the National Széchényi Library]. Budapest: OSzK.
- LAMBECK 1710 “Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Diarium Sacri Itineris Cellensis, Interrupti Et Repetiti : Qvod Sacratissimus Gloriosissimusque Princeps Et Dn. Imp. Cæs. Leopoldus I. Pius, Felix, Inclytus, Victor Ac Triumphator Semper Augustus, Anno Æ. C. MDCLXV. Primum Qvidem Die XXVII. Junii Suscepit Irrite, Postea Autem Feliciter Peregit A Die XI. Augusti Usque Ad Diem Ejusdem Mensis Vigesium,” in Peter Lambeck, *Prodromus historiae litterae* &c. Hamburg: Liebezeit.
- PETSCHAR 1993 Petschar, Hans. *Niederländer, Europäer, Österreicher: Hugo Blo-tius, Sebastian Tengnagel, Gerard Freiherr van Swieten, Gottfried Freiherr van Swieten ; vier Präfekten der kaiserlichen Hofbibliothek in Wien ; Ausstellung im Foyer zum Hauptlesesaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 26. April–15. Mai 1993*. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

THE TEXT OF THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

János M. Bak and Ryszard Grzesik*

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The codicological details and the history of the codex of the IC from its writing in 1358 to its arrival at its present home is described above (pp. 1–4); its afterlife down to modern times, below (pp. 181–98). While it may be the best known historical manuscript from medieval Hungary, it does not stand alone; it belongs to one of the two “families” of fourteenth-century chronicle compilations. One of them is represented by six more or less connected versions on which the *Buda Chronicle* (after which it is named), printed in 1473 in the short-lived *officina* of Andreas Hess in Buda—the first book printed in Hungary—was based.¹ Four surviving manuscripts, including the IC, represent the other. An unknown lost codex close to one of them was the basis for the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes Thuróczy/de Thurócz, printed in Brno and Augsburg in 1488.² The two groups overlap in several places; there are extensive borrowings, some of them verbatim. Thus, all seem to go back to a common source and have at some time influenced each other, but there is a significant difference between them.

Since all these existing witnesses are younger than the IC, the question is which of their model was the basis for the text of the IC. Already Thuróczy knew of the differing versions. In the preface to his work, styled *Soliloquium*, he characterized one of the chronicles as describing the Magyars as descendants of Noah’s cursed son, Ham, the other making Japhet, traditionally the ancestor of European peoples, their forebear. Thuróczy thought that the former ended with the events of the age of Charles I (1308–42), while the latter covered the age of Louis I (1342–82) as well. The “Hamite” text is in a way known to us through the version in the *Codex Sambucus* (copied precisely in Thuróczy’s time), while the “Japhetite” is represented by the IC that contains an awkwardly formulated polemic against the “Hamites” (ch. 4, pp. 13–15).³ However,

* This survey of the textual transmission is based to a great extent on the “Utószó” [Afterword] by Kornél Szovák in *KÉPES KRÓNIKA* 2004, 233–54. We are most grateful to him for permission to use his text. Whatever shortcomings it may have, is our fault.

¹ On it, see VARJAS 1977.

² Most recent, critical edition is THURÓCZY 1985–88.

³ See IC n. 38 on p. 12.

the IC too, ends in Charles's age. Gyula Kristó suggested that the—now lost—model manuscript of the IC did not originally end with the events of 1330, but contained the chapters known from the *Codd. Sambucus* and *Acephalus* along with the *Chronicon Dubnicense* (of the Buda family) about Charles's trip to Italy and even reports on the events of 1345–49 from a hand other than the earlier Angevin chapters.⁴ If we accept this hypothesis then the model of the IC was a manuscript of which Thuróczy said that it ended with Louis's time and advocated the Japhetite *origo gentis*, but for some reason was copied incompletely into the illuminated codex.

THE AUTHOR

However fine work the final compiler of the text of the IC has done with collecting, sifting, and augmenting older chronicles, he has failed to share with the reader his identity. There is no hint in the text whatsoever that would allow a conjecture.

Still, around A.D. 1593, there may have existed a copy in which his name appeared. János Baranyai Decsi (1560–1601), a student of ancient Hungarian history, wrote, “Had a certain Barbarian author, called Marcus not put into writing the origin and the history of our ancestors, we would be forced to be aliens and newcomers in our own fatherland. Thuróczy, namely, took all his material from him.”⁵ These words may imply that the sixteenth-century historian had the privilege of seeing a codex that served as the source of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, but was older than that, written not in Humanist, but in “Barbarian”, that is, medieval Latin. This manuscript could have been an unknown one close to but not identical with the *Codex Csepregby* (lost just about the time of Baranyai Decsi, but known from a seventeenth-century copy), the most likely source of Thuróczy. However, that codex, as we know it from the copy, did not contain the name Márk. Still, a version of it, naming the author, may have been around in the late sixteenth century.

On the other hand, Baranyai Decsi could have reached his conclusion not from a manuscript but from his research in the royal administration of the fourteenth century. The author of a royally commissioned chronicle could very well have been the *custos* of the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár that was the depository not only of the royal insignia but also of important documents.⁶ And indeed, that office was held in the given year by a certain Márk.

That person is not unknown. A Marcus son of Zomoyñ of Kált (Kálti) appears frequently in Angevin records between 1336 and 1358. In 1336–37 he was chaplain of Queen Elisabeth Piast, in 1342–52 parish priest of St. Peter's in Buda. In 1352 he

⁴ KRISTÓ 1967, 499–500.

⁵ BARANYAI DECSI 1866; see also KRISTÓ 1967, 482–84.

⁶ On the possible connection of the IC to Székesfehérvár, see below, p. 29.

became the *custos* of the royal chapel and held benefices in the chapters of Székesfehérvár and Veszprém. In 1353–54 he was provost of the collegiate chapter of Srem (or Kő) before he became *custos* in Fehérvár in 1358. He does not appear in the sources after this date and some scholars speculate that the incompleteness of the IC (written in that very year) may be due to his death.⁷

If Márk was the redactor of the “fourteenth-century compilation” (the basis of the IC text), he must have known a text from the time of Charles I, containing the old chronicles and the records of the early Angevin age, and even its probable Franciscan author, while serving in the capital. As provost of Srem (which, of course, he may have merely held as a benefice while living at court) he might have come across the *Chronicon Posoniense* of the Buda family,⁸ written somewhere in the region of Srem, containing thirteenth-century texts and having several references to the monastery at Kő. Overall, the ascription of the IC to “Kálti Márk” can be neither dismissed nor confirmed.

SOURCES AND CONSTITUTING PARTS

The Primary Gesta

In the first sentence of the IC, the author states that his work was “compiled from divers old chronicles, preserving what in them is true and utterly refuting what is false.” These “old chronicles” could have been none other than texts from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, most of which were lost in the course of time. Historical studies have proven that most of the main events and persons mentioned in the chronicles are described authentically and could not have become known to the fourteenth-century compiler of the IC’s model but from these lost narratives.

Questions surrounding the beginnings of history writing in Hungary have exercised scholars for the last three and a half centuries and engendered both valuable insights and methodological refinement.⁹ Nonetheless, no consensus emerged about the early narratives, surviving only in the redactions of the fourteenth century. Different scholars regard different hypothetical text as the *Ur-Gesta* (primary *Gesta*).¹⁰ There is, however, no doubt that a first chronicle was written down some time in the eleventh or early twelfth century, but the date of it is still debated.

One argument for its dating rests on comparison. It is reasonable to assume that the first syntheses of the legendary past and the first age of the Christian monarchies founded around the first millennium were composed at the time of their consolidation after the initial crises. The first chroniclers of the neighboring countries, Cos-

⁷ KERSKEN, 1995, 673–74.

⁸ *SRH* II, 7–51, see also below AFTERL.

⁹ BAGI 2007; SPYCHAŁA 2011, with extensive bibliography.

¹⁰ See GRZESIK 2010A, with literature. Cf. THOROCKAY 2016.

mas of Prague and the anonymous author of the *Gesta principum Polonorum* ("Gallus Anonymus")¹¹ wrote in the early twelfth century and, incidentally, both had contacts with King Coloman of Hungary (1096–1116). "Gallus" actually borrowed the passage of the Hungarian chronicle on the death and mourning of St. Stephen almost verbatim for Bolesław Chrobry's demise. If he indeed knew the *Ur-Gesta*, then it had to be available by ca. 1110 at the latest.¹² Consequently, several scholars have suggested the age of Coloman as the date of the earliest historical writing in Hungary, while others have argued for the times of King St. Ladislas (1077–95). The latter hypothesis rests on textual parallels with the *Life of St. Stephen*, composed for his canonization in 1083.¹³

Another, not less reasonable, assumption is that the primary history was written much earlier, in the mid-eleventh century, under King Andrew I (1046–60) or his son Solomon (1063–74). The treatment of events around the death of King St. Stephen (1000–38) and the sons of Vazul—Andrew and his brothers, who had to flee the country and returned amidst a popular uprising—reflects the concerns of that age. Moreover, the author seems to quote verbatim the penal formula of the 1058 peace treaty with the emperor (ch.90, p. 170), but this is unclear. According to some scholars, this first chronicler could have been identical with the writer of the famous foundation charter of Tihany (1055), Bishop Nicholas of Veszprém, who—as characterized in chapter 90 of the chronicle (p. 168)—was well trained for such a task.¹⁴ An even closer likely date of writing of the *Ur-Gesta* would be the mid-1060s, when King Solomon and the princes Géza and Ladislas ruled the country in peaceful cooperation and it may have ended with chapter 110 about the siege of Belgrade in 1071 (pp. 206–8).

There is no way to reconstruct the contents of the *Ur-Gesta*, as it has been re-edited several times, bits and pieces retained, others dropped, formulations borrowed in different contexts and so on. In all likelihood it contained all that was remembered and transmitted orally about the origin of the ruling dynasty and such historical myths as the miraculous hind (pp. 14–15), the totemistic falcon (pp. 32–35), the story of Botond's heroic deeds (pp. 104–107), the symbolic "purchase" of the country with a white horse (pp. 68–9), and so on. These could have been transmitted through heroic songs performed by minstrels.¹⁵ There is a hypothesis that some of them may have survived from pre-conquest Slavic (Moravian, Pannon-Slavic) tradition.¹⁶ While the author included whatever he knew about the ancient history of the Hungarians, the bulk of his writing covered the half century between the reign of King Stephen I and

¹¹ COSMAS OF PRAGUE 2017; GESTA PRINCIPUM 2003.

¹² GESTA PRINCIPUM 2003, 70–71 (I:16), and SRHI: 322. (ch. 70). See BAGI 2005.

¹³ See VESZPRÉMY-BAGI 2017.

¹⁴ For a detailed study of chapter 90, see VESZPRÉMY 2014.

¹⁵ Anonymus expressly dismissed the "gabbling songs of minstrels" as unworthy records of the past (ANONYMUS 2003, 4–5), implicitly proving their existence.

¹⁶ See GRZESIK 2016A.

Solomon. Depending on when exactly he worked, he may have met eyewitnesses for the first few decades of the Christian monarchy.

Oral traditions did not suffice for this first history. In order to find out about the distant past, the first author and the later re-editors had to recur to written sources. Their main reading was the *Chronicle* of Abbot Regino of Prüm (c. 840–915) and its continuation,¹⁷ which gives indeed a reasonably detailed report on the Hungarians' arrival in the Carpathian Basin in the ninth century. They also used the so-called *Exordia Scythica*, a seventh-century excerpt from Justin,¹⁸ also quoted by Regino. Thus, he described the ancient Hungarians in terms of Antique geography. Following Regino, they regarded Scythia as the land whence they came to Pannonia, but did not explicitly claim their descent from the Scythians as then the thirteenth-century Anonymous Notary did. The excerption and inclusion of Regino into the Chronicle and Anonymus' *Gesta* seems to have been done in stages, suggesting that his Chronicle was available in Hungary around 1100. The reference to a "dux Brabancie" in these passages indicates rather the second half of the twelfth century, thus the inclusion of Regino's text may have not been done much earlier.¹⁹

While it may be assumed that local records, short annals, or similar historical notes existed for the eleventh century that the first author of the chronicles could use, no evidence survived of them. However, in chapter 140 (p. 261) the mention of otherwise little known Moravian and Czech dukes in a confused chronology suggest the existence of lost contemporary annalistic notes.²⁰ The reference at one point to "ancient books" in chapter 82 (p. 155) may have been inserted later.

It is a commonplace that medieval chroniclers reflect essentially on their own time, when describing the past. The authors of the first parts of the IC were very much concerned with the succession to the throne in a time of transition from the more ancient tradition of the right of all members of the reigning family (dynasty) to the specific rule of primogeniture or a similar arrangement.²¹ The author of the early text seems to have embraced a "legitimistic" approach and the preferential right of the main branch to kingship. He emphasized that Solomon, firstborn son of Andrew I, was designated king by his father, approved by the great men of the realm, and crowned and anointed in 1057. Thus, the author implied that whatever bad character Solomon may have had, he had an unalienable right to the throne.

¹⁷ REGINO 1890 131–33; see also: MACLEAN 2009, 202–206.

¹⁸ *EXORDIA SCYTICA* 1894. See LEWANDOWSKI 2007, 208–29 on the medieval reception. KOTŁOWSKA–GRZEŚNIK 2016, 12–14 date the *Exordia* into the second to fourth century. Their publication also contains a glossary of late Latin words for the people in the Barbaricum.

¹⁹ See VESZPRÉMY 2017.

²⁰ See VESZPRÉMY 2004.

²¹ On this issue in general, see DALEWSKY 2015.

Moreover, writing when he most likely did, this chronicler had to face the tension between the hallowed memory of St. Stephen and his cruel order to have his cousin Vazul blinded (to make him unable to succeed on the throne)—when the reigning branch of the dynasty was precisely that of Vazul. He tried to circumvent this quandary on the one hand by inventing an adventurous crime story ascribing the vicious deed to the innocent Queen Gisela and her followers²² and on the other by making not Vazul, but his brother Ladislav the Bald (Szár László) the ancestor of King Andrew and his brothers. The relevant chapter 69 (pp. 124–29) has been subsequently re-edited so often that its present form is totally muddled and anachronistic.²³

The Deeds of King Ladislav

The next historian who continued and reworked the primary *Gesta* seems to have worked under St. Ladislav I (1077–95). He also used history for the legitimization of the reigning ruler. His handiwork is conspicuous in the above-mentioned chapter 69. The Stephen–Vazul issue was further distorted and the image of the saintly prince Emeric (Imre), canonized under Ladislav in 1083, introduced—with virtually no historical information—as a model for the ruling king. The catalogue of virtues ascribed to Emeric, based on the Admonitions of St. Stephen,²⁴ his *Legenda maior*²⁵ and the Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. 22–24) were applied to Ladislav²⁶ and were to support his right and suitability (*idoneitas*) to rule. In fact, this catalogue came to be the standard by which all later rulers were judged, as, for example, in the characterization of Stephen II in chapter 153 (pp. 283–84).

The turn to the twelfth century brought about a change in style and genre to the writing. The historian of Coloman continued the narrative of his predecessors but seems to have been dissatisfied with its tendency and reworked it according to his sponsor's concerns. Since he was not consistent, one can detect "layers" of writing in the rewritten chapters. His own work has been styled the *Gesta regis Ladislai*—chapters 102–41 (pp. 192–265)—for the central figure is the prince and king with supernatural qualities, seeing and explaining visions, and experiencing miracles with the focus on his

²² DRELICHARZ 1995, 465–92 noted that the version making Gisella the scapegoat came to be well-known even abroad, as Aubry de Trois-Fontaines in the 1220s wanted to know that Gisela made "*multas malitias*" in Hungary.

²³ For more on the issues of succession in the eleventh century in the IC, see below BAGI.

²⁴ HAVAS 2002, SWEENEY-BAK 1988.

²⁵ *Legenda maior* S. Stephani regis, ed. Emma Bartoniek in *SRH* II, 377–92; with English translation by Christian Gašpar in KLANICZAY forthc. Another *Vita*, by Bishop Hartwick was translated by Nora Berend, in: HEAD 2000, 375–98; a German translation appeared in BOGYAY 1976, 26–72. A Latin-Polish edition is in preparation by Ryszard Grzesik in cooperation with Anna Kotłowska and László Veszprémy.

²⁶ *Legenda S. Ladislai regis*, ed. by Emma Bartoniek, in *SRH* II, 507–28; German translation by J. M. Bak, in BOGYAY 1976, 155–65; with English translation by Christian Gašpar in KLANICZAY forthc. More on all this, see below, pp. 159–80.

conflict with Solomon. By its extent, this is one of the most detailed parts of the chronicle. The 430 plus years between the Hungarian *Landnahme* in the late ninth century to the end of the narrative in 1330 are covered in 184 chapters, of which the twenty-eight years between 1067 and 1095 take up more than forty, about one fifth of the whole.

A certain change in genre can also be detected in this section. It displays such a dramatic tension that is unique among writings of its age with its precise and conscious formulation. The poet János Arany suspected a vernacular epic in its background. That may be questionable, but there is no doubt that these chapters have a definite epic character. Repeated dialogues, dramatic situations, the finely elaborated contrast between good and evil characters, and consistent *epitheta ornantes* are all typical of the epic genre. The figure of the valiant Opos, performing several heroic deeds also suggest an author with literary talent. In chapter 122 (pp. 226–27) the chronicler described a truly dramatic scene on the abandoned battlefield with Prince Ladislas's lament over the bodies of enemies and friends, borrowed probably from no less an author than Herodotos, Justin or at least the *Historia Scholastica*. All this would fit better into a drama—or a *chanson de geste*—than a chronicle.²⁷

True, the events themselves lent a certain dramatic-epic character to the last third of the eleventh century. While the sons of Béla I defeated the crowned and anointed Solomon in 1074, he survived the battle and did not give up his attempts to regain the throne, occupied by Géza I (to 1077) and then by Ladislas. The chronicler's job was to justify the rule of the brothers and their descendants. It was not an easy task.

IDONEITAS VS LEGITIMACY

The outcome of the decisive battle of Mogyoród (14 March 1074), in which Solomon was defeated, was seen, as was usual in the Middle Ages, as the judgment of God (chapter 122, p. 227). Besides this *iudicium Dei*, the princes needed a legitimization that could not be the traditional one. Neither Géza nor Ladislas was designated by a ruling king and they could not claim to be supported (“elected”) by all the leading men, as some (however small a part) of those stood to Solomon. Thus, their chronicler had to recur to the notion of *idoneitas*, a concept always advocated by the church, as one that would guarantee the correct choice of the ruler who would keep peace to the people and the clergy. The idea of suitability was also relevant for Coloman's reign: he was not designated by his predecessor (as Ladislas had named his brother Álmos to succeed him), but as a former clerk obviously possessed the virtues needed for just and legitimate rule.

²⁷ See n. 590, IC p. 228.

Philological and historical research has demonstrated that most of the rulers of the twelfth century had their own court historians, who continued and altered the older sections of the chronicle. A major turn was triggered by a subsequent change in the royal line. Coloman's son died childless and the throne went to the line of Álmos, who had been blinded (together with his son Béla) by Coloman, to be excluded from succession. However, Béla II "the Blind" was to become king of Hungary from 1131 to 1141, and the ancestor of all later kings. The historian of one of his descendants must have ex post blackened the image of Coloman and Stephen II (1116–31), emphasizing their cruelty.

A new change in the issue of legitimization came about with Stephen III (1162–72). Made co-ruler in his father's time, designated as his successor, and in all likelihood supported by the magnates, the young king had to face the claims of his uncles supported by Byzantium. The briefly expelled Stephen had to base his rule on the legitimacy of descent and nomination, while his adult uncles could claim *idoneitas*. The historian of his court may have been the one who in several places corrected the references to "suitability," for example in chapter 130 (pp. 240–42) recording King Géza's alleged pangs of conscience for the deposition of Solomon and in chapter 133 (pp. 246–47) where it is admitted that Ladislav had no legitimate right to rule, even if Solomon had a bad character.

The author of this section described the events under Géza II (1142–62) down to his campaign in Rus' in 1152 (chapter 177, p. 315). With this, the detailed *histoire événementielle* of the eleventh to twelfth centuries ends.

Additions of the twelfth century

The subsequent sections are additions of one or more authors. Down to the reign of Andrew II (1205–35) the text contains only epochal dates and references to the burial site of the rulers. It is remarkable that Béla III (1173–96), the prince who grew up in Constantinople and was a very powerful and active king of Hungary, does not seem to have had his historian. True, however, that there could have been more detailed narratives for the later twelfth century, as the German chronicle of Heinrich von Mügeln (written in the 1340's) contains chapters that seem to go back to an authentic and well-written Latin text that could have been part of the old chronicle tradition but left out in one of the later redactions.²⁸

In spite of this omission, we have an indication that the older parts of the chronicle tradition, however re-edited more than once over the centuries, came down reasonably well to at least the early thirteenth century. A legend of St. Ladislav was written at the end of the twelfth century, close to his canonization on June 27, 1192.²⁹ This

²⁸ See BAGI forthc, KERSKEN 1996, 680–84.

²⁹ See n. 26, above.

legend survived in a manuscript not younger than the early thirteenth century. The passage about the death and mourning of the king is verbatim identical with chapter 70 of the IC on the death of St. Stephen (pp. 128–31). Philological scrutiny proved that the author of the legend borrowed the words from the old chronicle that we know through the IC and not the other way around.³⁰ Thus, it is more than likely that the chapters on the early history in the IC reflect correctly the text of the old chronicle tradition of the earlier centuries.

Simon of Kéza and Master Ákos

The thirteenth century brought about significant additions to the chronicle tradition. Around 1200–20, the anonymous former notary of King Béla (Anonymus) wrote a *Gesta Hungarorum*, but did not directly join the earlier chronicle parts (though one older text may have been known to him, as he included the same Scythian story of Justin via Regino as the previous authors).³¹ His contribution reached the mainstream of the chronicle via Simon of Kéza, court historian of Ladislas IV “the Cuman” (1272–90), who wrote his *Gesta Hungarorum* around 1282–85. Simon, who had excerpted the earlier *Gesta*, dropped the Scythian origin implied by Anonymus, but elaborated on his invention about the Hungarian royal dynasty’s descent from Attila the Hun and expanded it into the identification of the Huns and the Hungarians, not unknown in Western sources. Therefore, he augmented the old text with a sizeable addition of a history of the Huns in seventeen chapters, based on various Western European writings,³² and then proceeded to the “second entry of the Hungarians” as contained in the older chronicle. Still, the “elegant” Scythian connection was too tempting to Simon not to assign Scythian law, custom, and belief to his Huns–Hungarians. (These sufficed to make the Scythian past a central part of political rhetoric in the late Middle Ages and define Hungarian self-perception for quite a long time.)³³ His attempt to link the descendants of Attila with the later Magyars, borrowing bits and pieces from the Nibe-

³⁰ See the editor’s preface by Emma Bartoniek in the edition, *SRH* II: 509–11.

³¹ A chronicle called Hungaro-Polonicum that was partly based on the early parts of the mainstream tradition, partly on Hartvic’s *Vita* of St. Stephen and partly on oral and written traditions from Hungary and Croatia, was written around 1220–30 in Slovenia. The author, member of the court of Coloman, sometime king of Halich, must have known Anonymus’s Attila construct as well. As it was taken to Poland, where several manuscripts, augmented with local traditions, survive, it did not become part of the fourteenth-century compilation. see GRZESIK 2010B; GRZESIK 2016B, and GRZESIK, forthc.

³² On this, see below pp. 127–38. The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle from the turn of 1230s also used the main stem of the Hungarian chronicles, but it in a very literary manner presenting the Hungarian “prehistory” under the rule of Aquila/Attila and the civil wars of the mid-eleventh century. This chronicle contains a vast description of St. Stephen’s life based on a shorter variant of the Hartvic Legend and a lost Polish Chronicle from the turn of the thirteenth century which contained another hypothetical Chronicle from the second half of the eleventh century, see GRZESIK 2010B, 2016B and GRZESIK forthc..

³³ See KLANICZAY 2011.

lung tradition, (chapters 19–22, pp. 52–57) is full of contradictions and is quite muddled.

Simon's *Gesta* reached the mainstream of the chronicle when the fourteenth-century redactors included most of it into their compilations. This was done in more than one way in both the Buda family of manuscripts and the IC. There are passages from Simon that are only in the Buda or only in the IC version. Actually, in the *Sambucus Codex*, Simon's dedication was copied to the beginning of the Buda Chronicle, hence for quite a while he was regarded the author of the entire chronicle. The learned Franciscan Luke Wadding found the chronicle in the *Sambucus Codex* and announced it as Simon's,³⁴ which was repeated by several Hungarian and foreign scholars.

Simon was, however, not the only author of his age. Stephen V (1270–72) also had a court historian who was identified as Master Ákos (Acusius) *de genere* Ákos. His work did not come down to us in its original form, but his corrections and additions found their way into the fourteenth-century compilations mainly via Simon's text. This Master Ákos is known from other sources. He was parish priest of Pest between 1235 and 1244, then until 1251, *custos* of the royal collegiate chapter of Székesfehérvár, and finally, until 1272, provost of the chapter of Óbuda/Buda Vetust and *procurator* of the Dominican nuns' monastery at Insula Leporum (now St. Margaret Island in Budapest). Just as Simon, he participated in several diplomatic missions to Italy and seems to have had an up-to-date canon legal training.

Both Ákos and Simon were sensitive to the political issues of their time as they did not concentrate any more on the problems of dynastic succession or legitimacy since primogeniture became the accepted rule by the mid-twelfth century. They rather reflected the increasing role of the higher social strata in the affairs of the state. Already Anonymus introduced this issue by making the seven chieftains of the Magyars sharing the properties and authority with the "elected" prince, Árpád. Moreover, his *Gesta* is full of references to the great noble families of his time, "holding their properties ever since the *Landnahme*."³⁵

Master Ákos, aware of these social changes—the emergence of a noble society and the closing off the ranks of *barones*—wished to satisfy their interests in the narrative and collected the genealogical traditions of the leading families, especially the immigrants. The concern of Ákos—as formulated by Simon—to grant respectable ancestry to the great men of their age comes through in chapter 35 (p. 77) of the IC. There the author asks: "When therefore it is said in some chronicles that the afore-said seven captains entered Pannonia and alone settled and populated Hungary, then whence come the kindreds of Ákos, Bor, Aba and other noble Hungarians since none of these were strangers but had all come forth from Scythia?" Master Ákos also expanded

³⁴ WADDING 1732–33, vol. 2, 166, vol. 7, 259.

³⁵ See GYÖRI 1948.

the history of the Hungarian raids of the tenth century augmenting them from foreign sources. He is also credited with having written the history of King Andrew II and his son Béla IV (1235–70) as well as the detailed description of the treasuries of the Székes-fehérvár and Buda collegiate chapters (chapters 66–67, pp. 117–22).

Simon's "politics" were somewhat different. His story about the all-powerful community (*communitas*) as the source of authority reflects the growing importance of the *servientes regis*, the forerunners of the lesser nobility, beginning to organize themselves into county corporations in the later thirteenth century.³⁶ This concept was to have a long life, too, codified as it was by the famous law book of Stephen Werbőczy.³⁷

The final redaction

The last stage of the prehistory of the fourteenth-century compilation was the so-called Minorite Chronicle of Buda written in the times of Charles I. This must have been more or less identical with that "Hamite" manuscript used by Thuróczy (mentioned by him in his preface) which came down to us partly or fully in the fifteenth-century copy contained in the *Codex Sambucus*. Its main merit is that it preserved the basic text of the entire chronicle tradition including Simon's Hun story, the events of the eleventh to the thirteenth century and the additions of Master Ákos. Without this collection of old texts, we would know much less about the Hungarian past, legendary and historical.

The part in the Minorite Chronicle covering the period 1272–1333/34 (chapters 181–331, pp. 209–379) was probably written by a single Franciscan author, though some historians claim to have found traces of some other authors as well.³⁸ These chapters offer a very negative picture of King Ladislas IV, in contrast to Simon of Kéza's *Gesta*, and up to 1305 have a slightly anti-Angevin tone. The chronicle mentions Charles I as a mere "kid" when he entered the country, while the partisans of Wenceslas III, a pretender to the throne from the point of view of the Angevins, are called "dignitaries." Furthermore, the text mentions only the third coronation of Charles I in 1310, even though the contemporaries must have known very well that the chancellery of Charles counted the king's regnal years from 1301, the year when the last member of the Árpáds died.

In fact, Márk (or whoever compiled the model of the IC) essentially prefaced this chronicle with an extensive, Bible-based *origo gentis* (pp. 7–13), and interpolated it with records from one or more eleventh–twelfth-century chronicles. The final compiler also added his political ideas in the form of an elaborate preface. He presented the

³⁶ See Jenő Szűcs "Theoretical elements in Master Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* (1282–1285)" in SIMON OF KÉZA 1999, xxix–cii.

³⁷ See below p. 183.

³⁸ SOMOGYI 2011.

monarchy of the Hungarian Anjou, stabilized and reformed after the anarchic decades of the early 1300s, as the outcome of divine grace with unchallenged power of the king. The king should be patient and just, clever and merciful. This perception, characteristic of high medieval imperial ideas, he updated by the very much contemporary notion of *buon governo*.³⁹ He was also informed by the most up-to-date commentary on the relevant Biblical passages, perusing the work of the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyra (d. 1349) the basic textbook at the University of Paris in his time.⁴⁰

STYLE, LANGUAGE, ATTITUDES

Considering that the IC in its present form is a compilation of several texts by several authors, it would be a futile exercise to analyze its style and Latinity in any detail. The exceptionally “epic” style of what is called the *Gesta Ladislai regis* has been noted above. As far as we can reconstruct, the final redaction—besides the additions of “Márk”—was done by the unknown Minorite, reflecting the Latinity of the early fourteenth century, but often retaining more archaic elements. Most of the authors used some, but not very many Biblical passages (except long quotations in the preface), virtually never quoting the Classics. Thus, none of them seems to have had higher (university) education.

There are traces of legal *latinitas* and Roman or Canon legal expressions also occur, suggesting that even the unknown authors were most likely close to the royal chancellery. Nonetheless, no trace of charters (with the possible exception of the 1058 peace treaty) can be detected in the chronicles. Even though Hungarian donation charters had ever since the twelfth century long passages (in the *arenga* or the *narratio*) describing the deeds of the recipient,⁴¹ so-called heroic narrations, the chroniclers did not make use of these stories. The names of nobles and prelates who performed valiant deeds or fell in a battle or siege are frequently noted, but without any detail about their achievements. Rarely is there a detailed description of a battle or a siege (such as in chapter 106, p. 203), otherwise usual in chronicles and often contained in charter prefaces, suggesting combatants’ reports. One cannot even guess, why. Since the medieval royal archives got lost when the court fled the Ottoman advance in 1526, we know not whether the chancellery preserved copies of charters issued. Or the chroniclers regarded the two genres—records and chronicles—too different to be fused.

In contrast to, for example, Cosmas or “Gallus,” we cannot trace personal attitudes or prejudices in the text, other than the aforementioned dynastic loyalties to the actually reigning branch of the Árpáds and Angevins. The changes in the “politics” of the various authors, from the issues of legitimacy vs. *idoneitas*, from the matters of suc-

³⁹ More on this below, pp. 33–36.

⁴⁰ See n. 17 to IC p. 6.

⁴¹ See MÁLYUSZ 1969 (however, with mainly later examples), KURCZ, 1962.

cession to the ideology of the *communitas* were noted above. The conspicuous lack of denigration of the pagan ancestors, typical for most medieval authors, is noteworthy and survived all the many redactions.⁴² Foreigners (Germans, Italians) are censored or ridiculed, when acting against the country's good, but no general xenophobia characterizes any of the authors. The foreign, immigrant ancestors of great families are, naturally, depicted in a most favorable light. Only the outside nomad enemies, "Cumans" and "Tartars" are consistently described in negative terms. More than one of the authors, reflecting probably general noble prejudice, call some of the auxiliary forces of the army (Székely, Petchenegs) despicable.

* * *

However varied in quality and style, the fourteenth-century chronicles—of which the IC, with its illuminations that frequently augment the text, is the most representative one—are the only complete collections of the Hungarian historical tradition, which, through its later, printed versions defined the self-image of the nation down to modernity. The history, as given in the IC and following it, by Thuróczy, remained the *grand narrative* until the eighteenth century, when the alternative emphasis on the *Landnahme* and Árpád (influenced by the discovery of Anonymus) began to replace the Hun–Hungarian story of the chronicles.⁴³

⁴² Cf. VESZPRÉMY 2011; BAK forthc.

⁴³ This process has been investigated in detail by SZABADOS 1998.

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THE ILLUMINATIONS OF THE CHRONICLE

Ernő Marosi

There is no doubt that the IC is one of the most precious items—if not *the* most precious one—of book art from the medieval kingdom of Hungary. The whole volume with its evenly written, richly gilded and painted folia on which text, miniatures and initials display a balanced rhythm is a unique work of art that offers a real delight when one takes it in one's hand. It is a codex of medium size with well-legible writing that can be held like a modern printed book and paged through with ease. It is not for several people to read at the same time as with a liturgical codex intended for choirs, nor a small booklet for intimate lonely devotion, as a Book of Hours. Yet the IC does not primarily call for reading but looking. It is as if the pictures were signs to the viewer to look into the text for the explanation of their contents. True, during its history there were some whose interest was not entirely satisfied by those sights, witnessed by small marginal notes, usually indentifying place names.

Readers today would rarely be interested in “reading” the codex as there are plenty of printed versions with explanatory notes and also translations into modern languages, thus they will wish to enjoy the miniatures, the illustrated initials and the elegant lay-out of the codex.¹

Much of this is now possible through facsimile or digitalized editions that also allow all kinds of tricks, such as enlarging minute initials to the size of a coffee-table book. Still, the mass-produced facsimile is only a reproduction: it cannot be ever identical to the unique original. It does not mediate more than its appearance, while the codex, as a work of art, generates a special complex experience. It has weight and smell; a feeling of the parchment and the differing quality of its pages betray its organic, living origin. The pages have a spatial depth, lines are scored, scrapings ruffle their surface; an ink sketch is hidden underneath the layers of paint and sometimes emerges. The

¹ This overview is based on the main art history monographs: DERCSÉNYI 1964; WEHLI 1982, 135 and *MoMT* II 1987, 841; DERCSÉNYI 1987; HOFFMANN–WEHLI 1992, 223 f; WEHLI 2000; WEHLI 2009.

images do not simply lie on the surface, as they would fit the idea of modern abstraction of two-dimensional art. Their gilding highlights them as if in a relief and the effect is sometimes enhanced by tiny lines of dots. Nor are the painted surfaces perfectly flat; the observant eye recognizes the uneven surface due to layer above layer, as well as the plastic traces of the drawing or dotting brushpoint. In the script darker and lighter ink alternate with a rhythm of every 2-3 pages: the scribe may have diluted the ink in his ink-pot before refilling. And then there are the traces that betray the history of the precious object: damage by age or humidity, attrition and staining, and the various notes by old users and later librarians.

The task of the art historian is to compensate as much as possible of that which the mere reproduction cannot offer. This is easier done by focusing on details rather than considering the item as a whole. I have been amazed to see how the *Chronicle* has been parceled into “problems” in the professional literature and can only hope that this time I shall be able to present it as a whole, and not only in a technical sense.

DATING THE CODEX

While the text, written down beginning on 15 May, 1358—as the first line in red testifies—is a compilation of chronicles that go back centuries earlier,² the illuminations, nay, the genre of an illustrated history, has hardly any prehistory in Hungary. As a matter of fact, it was a novelty in the fourteenth century everywhere. Therefore, a study of the illustrations may be useful, if for nothing else, but confirming the date of the codex.

Traditionally, the initial task of art historians is to define the time when a codex was made, to determine the stylistic origin of the miniatures as precisely as possible, and to try to identify the master. These tasks corresponded to the general aims of art history at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Art historical study of the IC was mostly looking for answers to these questions, strongly focusing on the history of artistic influences. The primary question at that time was about the “school” to which an object of art could be assigned; museums were also arranged accordingly. The presumption of independence, establishing the existence of a “national school” has been the most important matter that could be said about the art of a certain region. When scholars speak about “Neapolitan,” “Sienese,” “Bolognese,” or even “Central-European (Bohemian)” or “French” models of the illumination of the IC³ they mix observations referring undifferentiatedly to the type of composition and ornamentation with statements about the style of the images. The novelty of the miniatures completely disappears in this general definition that would include nearly all of medieval Europe.

² See above, pp. 5–24.

³ DERCSÉNYI 1987, 104. The antecedent of this statement is: BERKOVITS 1938, 11. The attempt to differentiate: WEHLI 1982, 124 ff., on new Bolognese style connection VIZKELETY–WEHLI 1989, 105.

The traditional notion, which still survives despite its rebuttals, is that the illuminator of the IC was Master Hertul's son Nicholas ("Miklós Meggyesi"), known from Louis the Great's donation charter of 1356, where he is said to have "...made and offered us varied and different, as attractive as valuable pieces of work with his mastery of painting, in which our royal majesty can and will enjoy."⁴ Two domestic stylistic generations were assumed: the father, Hertul, would have represented an older style of the 1330s from Bologna, whereas the son would have stood for the more modern art of the court style under of Louis the Great.⁵ There is no unequivocal evidence to support this hypothesis.

Art historians of the twentieth century relied on the findings of philology and heraldry for dating the IC. Most influential of these was the study of Emil Jakubovich, which also proved that the Chronicle was not the only item of court art during the age of Louis the Great. After Edith Hoffmann's discovery,⁶ at least one other known codex can be associated to it: the modestly ornamented Oxford Codex containing the *Secretum secretorum*, the title page of which suggests that it was made in the same workshop as the IC.⁷ On its fol. 1 (Fig. 1) the initial *H* depicts a young king in a half-length figure with the helmet ornamented with the Hungarian Angevin ostrich crest emerging from a crown on his shield; undoubtedly a portrait of Louis I. At the bottom of the folio three lozenge shields present the coat of arms of the codex's owner: the divided Hungarian-Angevin shield in the middle, the double ("Lotharingian," or "apostolic") cross rising on a triple hill to the right and the eagled coat of arms of Poland to the left. This last crest made

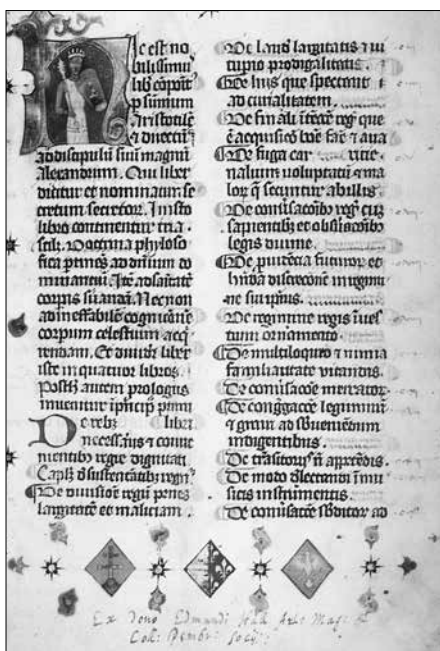


Fig. 1. *Secretum secretorum*, Oxford, Herford College 2/EN 21, fol. 1r

⁴ "...meritoria servicia eiusdem, qui arte pictura varia et diversa eo cara quo placibilia opera nobis paravit et optulit, in quibus regalis nostra excellencia merito potuit et poterit delectari....: 12 March 1356: HÁZI I/1, No. 173., 107 ff. See KURCZ 1988, 110, referring to the details of evaluation.

⁵ See further literature on the issue: WEHLI 1982, 120 ff., and *MoMT* II. 1987, 95 and 785, especially: MOLLAY 1977.

⁶ HOFFMANN 1929, 21.

⁷ For the bibliography see WEHLI 1982, Cat. No. 28, 136. JAKUBOVICH 1930, 382–92 is still fundamental.



Fig. 2. a) *Secretum secretorum*, Oxford, Herford College 2 /EN 2/, fol. 1r bottom, detail

Jakubovich date the Oxford Codex to after 1370 when, after the death of Casimir the Great, Louis inherited the Polish throne, based on a contract from 1335. Although the Polish coat of arms do not appear in the IC (where the others are seen at the bottom of the first page) the near-contemporary origin of the ornamented title pages of the two codices is obvious. This prompted Hoffmann to draw the conclusion that the IC was made before the Polish coronation of 1370 and the manuscript of the *Secretum secretorum* thereafter.⁸ In fact neither Hoffmann nor Jakubovich considered that Louis the Great legitimately used the Polish royal coat of arms among others to signal his claim to the throne already before his uncle's death (for example, on the goldsmith works presented to the Hungarian chapel in Aachen in 1367, see also Fig. 2b).⁹ Moreover, the Polish coat of arms can also be regarded as the heraldic sign of Louis's mother, Queen Elisabeth Piast (both before and after 1370).¹⁰

Historians and philologists have suggested several dates and contexts for the production of the text of the IC. One dating rests on the initial *A* on the title page. Jakubovich surmised that the pair of donators kneeling in front of Saint Catherine may refer to Catherine (1370–78), the daughter of King Louis, who was engaged to Louis of Orléans. Combining the two arguments, Ilona Berkovits argued that the ornamentation of the frontispiece had to be made in the four months between Princess Catherine's birth in July 1370 and the Polish coronation of Louis the Great in November 1370.¹¹ One could not have wished for a more precise dating than that.

However, this heraldic argument does not exclude earlier dating, as argued above. The fact that the chronicle ends around 1330 does not help dating either way, but finally stylistic considerations have also shaken this late dating.¹² The widespread presumption that the image of parents praying to their daughter's patron saint is in itself problematic. While there cannot be found a parallel to such an iconography; the pair in the initial fits much better into the type of donor images. It expresses that King

⁸ HOFFMANN 1929, 21–22.

⁹ KOVÁCS 1982, Cat. No. 15–17, 110–12., *MoMT* II 1987, 223–26., 494–95.

¹⁰ ŚNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOT 1975, ŚNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOT 1981.

¹¹ BERKOVITS 1938.

¹² DERCSÉNYI 1987, 90–91.



Fig. 2. b) Detail of the frame of the panel with the Virgin Mary ("Schatzkammerbild"), Mariazell

Louis and his wife, Elisabeth Kotromanič, "dedicate" the codex to Saint Catherine. This meaning of the image, well known from donations for ecclesiastical institutions, makes it unnecessary to connect it to the young princess or to search for other Catherines, for example the ancestors of the junior Queen Elisabeth.¹³

In my opinion, the IC was made most likely for the Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia) royal collegiate chapter, where the Angevin sepulchral chapel added to the basilica by Louis was consecrated in honor of Saint Catherine.¹⁴ This building, the construction of which started after the looting of Charles Robert's grave in the 1350s, was finished around 1371 and Princess Catherine was the first to be buried there next to her grandfather.¹⁵ Recent archaeological investigations of the Székesfehérvár provostry church have successfully proven that this Saint Catherine chapel was built near the east end of the south aisle of the church. The three fourteenth-century tombs found there could be those of the kings Charles (d. 1342) and Louis (d. 1382) as well as Catherine (d. 1378). Fragments found on the site prove that the red marble figural sculptures belonged to these tombs.¹⁶

The double benefactor picture in the *A* initial fits well to the iconography of other founding couples in the picture cycle of the codex: on page 140,¹⁷ Queen Elisabeth and Charles Robert offer the Franciscan monastery of Lippa/Lipova to the patron saint of King Louis, St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, who is depicted on the same page. Both in its type and composition the illumination parallels the scene of the foundation of the provostry in Óbuda (p. 42), which illustrates the grant of Saint Stephen and Queen Gizella, and is also connected to the foundation story of the Székesfehérvár collegiate church. The bodeful remark "Because the money of that

¹³ DERCSÉNYI - VAJAY 1977.

¹⁴ MAROSI 1995, 38. Indulgence of Pope Gregory XI: 14 May 1371. *apud pontem Sorgie: Monumenta Vaticana* 1899, CCXXXVIII. No. 204. For the construction of the chapel see KRALOVÁNSZKY-SZAKÁL-LÖVEI 1982, 165 ff. The fact of the chapel foundation is mentioned but without reference to the presumable designation of the codex: JAKUBOVICH 1930, 389.

¹⁵ DERCSÉNYI 1943, 52. On the source of dating to 1349: KRALOVÁNSZKY 1982, 172, note 1. Cf. The donation charter of Louis the Great in which he bestows the estates of János, Székesfehérvár resident canon, to Simon Bócsi Cudar and his brothers: 15 January 1352, Esztergom: *AO V*, no. 333, 541 f.

¹⁶ BICZÓ, 2004, 48–57; LÖVEI 2004; and LÖVEI, 2008.

¹⁷ Page numbers in parentheses in this paper always refer to the pages of the manuscript, not the printed IC.

Gyula was ill-gotten,¹⁸ that church often fell victim to the destruction of fire” (ch. 66 p. 42) can be read here. A proof of this remark is presented in its proper chronological place in an initial on page 141 depicting the 1327 fire of the church of St. Mary in Székesfehérvár. Thus the illumination of the chronicle shows clearly a special attention to Székesfehérvár. It is known that a copy of Saint Stephen’s *Vita* was held in Székesfehérvár and used as a legitimizing text at the time of Stephen III during negotiations with the papal legates Peter and Manfred;¹⁹ thus it is most likely that the clergy of Saint Catherine’s chapel also wished to own a copy of the Angevin-age Chronicle. This hypothesis fits well to the suggestion, discussed above, that the IC was compiled by Márk Kálti, *custos* at Székesfehérvár in 1358.²⁰ There is another reason to connect the IC to Székesfehérvár: it parallels the connection between *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* and Saint-Denis, where its first parts were written. Just as in Saint Denis, where the dynastic burial site of the Capeting dynasty was formed with conscious planning and the Valois²¹ continued this way of legitimization, the Hungarian Angevins emphasized their legitimacy by reverting to the burial tradition in Székesfehérvár after centuries during which the kings were interred elsewhere. To supply the church in Alba Regia with a Chronicle on the deeds of the kings of Hungary and especially the Anjou—and this genealogical continuity is one of the main characteristics of the illuminations—would fit into this concern very well.

INTENTIONS OF TEXT AND ILLUSTRATION: THE PROLOGUE AND ITS ILLUMINATIONS

I believe that the title page and the first pages with the prologue (the only original fourteenth-century part of the entire IC!) reflect—both in text and illumination—the basic underlying idea of the entire chronicle. It may, therefore, be not superfluous to analyze its “message” in terms of political theory.

Only the title page of the IC refers to the person who commissioned it, Louis I the Great of Anjou. There is no other reference to him either in text or illumination. As the narrative ends abruptly in 1330, the death of Charles Robert and Louis’s accession to the throne are known only from other codices, which may have preserved the full text of the IC’s model (see below, pp. 181–98). However, the series of illuminations on pages 139 and 141 betray the fact that the editor and the illuminator regarded the descent of Louis the Great as most important in the history of his father’s reign. The main character there is Queen Elisabeth Piast, the mother who gave birth to the ruling

¹⁸ The chronicler is mixing up the loot gained from Keán with Stephen’s uncle Gyula, about whom he writes later.

¹⁹ MEZEY 1972, 25 f.

²⁰ See above, pp. 6–7. MÁLYUSZ 1967, 62. cf.: KARSAI 1963, 671 f., TARNAI 1974, 209, on his career and regarding him as a possible author see KRISTÓ 1987, 113–14.

²¹ HEDEMAN 1991, 2–4.

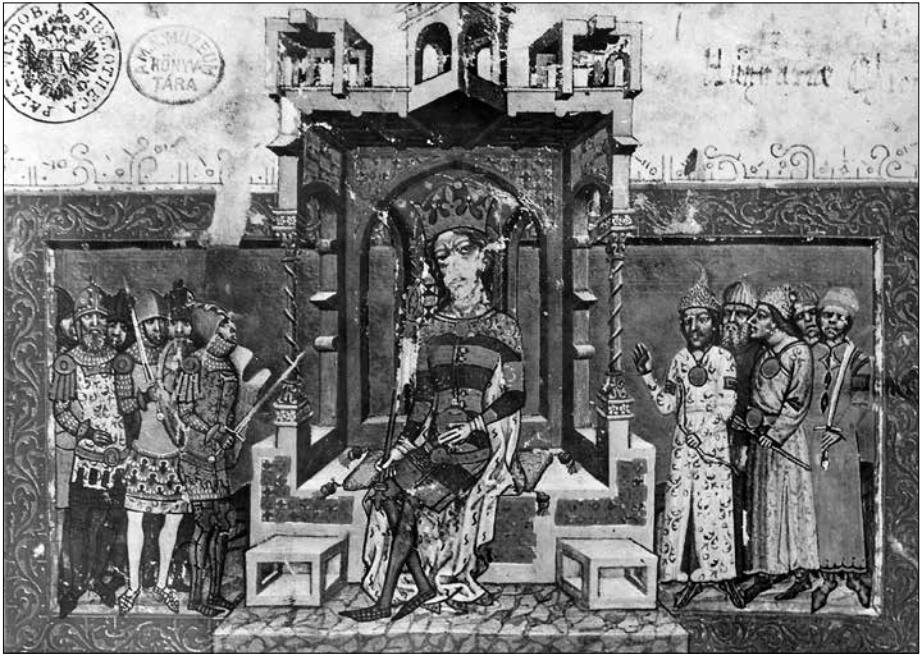


Fig. 3. The head of p. 1 of the IC

king: the seven illuminations begin with her wedding and end with the attack on the royal family by Felicián Záh in which she was hurt.

There is no doubt, however, that the opening illumination depicts Louis I enthroned in majesty, under a canopy, with his insignia, and in a costume with heraldic decoration (Fig. 3). It follows the formula of official depiction of the monarch as it usually appears on the great seals of majesty (Fig. 4). This *maiestas* image is extended by nobles lined up on each side of the throne as representation of the *regnum* at the top, and the coat of arms of the country and the dynasty at the bottom of the page.



Fig. 4. Second seal of majesty King Louis I (1364), avers, after silicon copy, Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

I argued above that the royal couple before Saint Catherine in the letter *A* is a picture of dedication, and thus belongs to the private sphere, all the more so as it does not explicitly illustrate the offering of the codex but the royal couple's prayer to Saint Catherine. Still, the half-figure of the saint with her wheel holds out the right hand as if offering a scepter to Louis. One can recognize an additional intertextual reference to Catherine of Alexandria, who is presented in the *Legenda Aurea* as a wise woman who converted pagan philosophers; and thus would be handing the king the scepter of wisdom.

At the end of the column the crowned figure with nimbus of the small initial *P* in the prologue (the beginning of the text: *Per me reges regnant*) fits in the same context, although in our opinion according to a different illustrative system, namely, word illustration. The first sentence reads: "By me kings reign, says the Lord through the mouth of the wise Solomon in the eighth chapter of the Book of Proverbs." The depiction of the beardless Solomon with a book in his left hand and the gesture of the right hand symbolize preaching and teaching. To see Solomon young is unusual: he was mostly depicted thus only in parallel with David, but it would be even more unusual to see the depiction of God in the crowned young figure.

The explication of the prophetic word from the Book of Proverbs in the prologue is the most authentic explanation of the series of illuminations on the title page. The learned cleric's quotations from the Old Testament attribute the origin of royal power to divine will. The author explains the glory and victories of Hungarian kings by their having the qualities necessary for ruling in line with God's will. Those reign as kings who have the merits: *iustitiae aequalitas* (balanced justice), *sapientiae claritas* (pure wisdom), *patientiae tranquillitas* (calm patience), *miserecordiae pietas* (pious compassion). Again, Proverbs is quoted (20, 28): *Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem, Et roboratur clemencia thronus eius* ("Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is strengthened by clemency"). According to the teaching of the prologue, wisdom is the most important virtue of a king: the *rex sapiens* (Wis. 6, 24) is a support to his people in contradiction to the *tyrannus*. The kings of Hungary "by subduing all tyrants enabled the peoples of Hungary to dwell in the *loveliness of peace and in quiet abundance*" (Is. 32.18).

Thus the title page, illustrating the text of the prologue, is a depiction of the wise king's good government. Accord is emphasized by the picture of the monarch and the support of his reign by the great men of realm. The same notions were formulated at the time of the Anjou accession to the throne in Hungary.

The explication of Proverbs 8, 15 in the prologue of the Chronicle echoes the text presenting the papal legate Cardinal Gentilis's view of kingship in a synodal canon of 3 December 1308. According to that (*De statu Regis*), the basis of power is the "unity of consenting souls" whereby "mercy and justice meet, and justice and peace embrace each other." This image of ideal reign is followed by the ecclesiastical interpretation of royal power conceived as the power of the secular sword in a canonical context: "Therefore the

high king in heaven, by whom kings reign [note the same words in the prologue] and princes lead, bestowed earthly kings with the power of the secular sword to revenge sins.” It corresponds to this interpretation that the explication goes on to call the Hungarian kings “Catholic kings,” referring to the examples of Saint Stephen and the holy kings, characterizing their relationship to their subjects with the image of the body and its members.²² The passage in the coronation oath taken by Charles I (15 June 1309) belongs to the same set of ideas: “He preserves the nobles of his country, Hungary, within the old well-tried law and frees them from the oppression of tyranny”.²³ The *tyrannis* here clearly refers to the oligarchs who usurped royal power in the years around 1300.

The king surrounded by the supporters of his reign, his guards and executors of his commands, is a commonplace in the iconic representation of rulership ever



Fig. 5. King Robert of Naples throning, between virtues, Anjou-Bible, Mechelen, Groot Seminarie, Cod. 1, fol. 1v

since Antiquity. This same scheme of the public representation of medieval kings or emperors was continuous ever since Carolingian times. The companions may be warriors, often matched by clerics, but can be personifications of regions of the empire, of the tax-payers or even of royal virtues. In the Mechelen Bible of King Robert the Wise of Naples the virtues supporting the throne and a set of dynastic portraits appear on a parallel series of illumination (Fig. 5). It is possible that the two groups of warriors in the IC imply some additional message, but it is difficult to detect deeper symbolic significance (we shall come back to this later).

The political ideas of the prologue of the IC can also be found in several instances in the Italian representations of good government. The *Maestà*-fresco by Simone Martini in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena bears the inscription *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram* and

²² BAK 1973, 125. Anhang. I. Nr. 2: *concordium animorum unitas—Misericordia et veritas sibi obviant, ac iustitia et pax se invicem complectuntur*, and: *Ideo namque a summo illo celesti rege, per quem singuli reges regnant et principes principantur, temporalis gladii ad malorum vindictam terrenis est regibus attributa potestas*.

²³ BAK 1973, 130. Anhang. I. Nr. 3.: *Nobiles regni sui Ungarie in approbato et antiquo iure servare, atque a tyrannorum opprobrio eripere*.

the same quotation from the Book of Wisdom (1, 1: "Love justice, you who judge on Earth!") can also be found above the personification of *Iustitia* in the allegory of Good Government by Ambrogio Lorenzetti.²⁴ The Siena tradition of this concept is also reflected in the inscriptions of the virtue cycle painted by Taddeo di Bartolo in 1414 in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. An inscription under the personification of *Iustitia*, taken from the mirror of princes by Giles of Rome: *Iustitia omnium virtutum preclarissima regna conservat* ("Justice, the most glorious among the virtues holds up the realms") exactly corresponds to the fundamental idea expressed in the prologue of the IC.²⁵

The key to the interpretation of the title illumination of the IC and the contents of the prologue is provided by the literature of political theory. The fact that the *Secretum secretorum* was known in Hungary is proved by the above mentioned Oxford Codex the illuminations of which are close to those of the IC.²⁶ The admonition to Alexander the Great says that justice makes the king one chosen by God and similar to Him.²⁷ The first part of the work talks about the necessary features to maintain governance. A good name is especially important among those qualities; squarely contradicting the idea that *virtù* was merely a Renaissance notion of political virtues.²⁸ Among

²⁴ RUBINSTEIN 1958; FRUGONI 1980, 239.

²⁵ Aegidius Romanus (*De regimine principum* I. II, 11). RUBINSTEIN 1958, 192. On Taddeo di Bartolo's 1413–14 cycle depicting 24 Romans as a transition between the *Uomini famosi* series and the fifteenth-century secular world chronicles, see SCHMITT 1974, 183.

²⁶ According to its content, the Oxford Codex in its ordonnance and main features corresponds to the edition which includes the preface and notes by Roger Bacon of between 1264 and 1267, its text is not identical; it is the member of a smaller group consisting of a few codices. For the bibliography see WEHLI 1982, Cat. No. 28, 136. JAKUBOVICH 1930, 382–92 is still fundamental. See KARDOS 1959, 15–6 for the sequence of thought relating to the prologue of the Chronicle.

²⁷ The *Secr. secr./Steele* III, 5, 123: *Iustitia est commendacio (sive condicio) laudabilis de proprietatibus Altissimi simplicis et gloriosi. Unde et regnum debet esse ejus quem Deus elegit et constituit super servos suos. ... Ergo in hoc assimilandum est Deo, et ideo oportet regem assimilari et imitari Altissimum in omnibus suis operibus.* [Justice is a meritorious and a recommended thing (or requirement) from among the features of the only and glorious Divinity. Therefore kingdom is also due to whom God has chosen and conferred above his servants... Thus he must be like God in this and therefore the king must be like the Divine Authority in all his actions and imitate Him.] With reference to the role of justice see a group of French or English manuscripts which contain the *destructio regni Anglorum* deteriorated text instead of the words *destructio regni Chaldaeorum* or *Alayorum*. The codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, ms. fonds français No. 571 is in the centre of the group, dedicated to Edward III as heir to the throne, thus between August 1326 and January 1327. The political background to the text deterioration reflects the circumstances of removing Edward II. With reference to this the text of the *Secretum Secretorum*: *Subditi vero propter injuriam clamaverunt ad Deum excelsum et gloriosum, qui mittens ventum validum afflixit eos vehementer. Et insurrexit populus contra eos, et nomina eorum de terra penitus deleverunt* ("As a result of the injustice the subjects cried to the sublime and glorious God who, sending a strong wind, afflicted them greatly. And the people rose against them and their names were wiped off the Earth entirely.") See MANZALAUOI 1982, 65.

²⁸ *Secr. secr./Steele* I, 7, 40: *Et primum instrumentum intellectus est desiderium bone fame, quia qui vere desiderat bonam famam famosus erit atque gloriosus, et qui fecte desiderat, per infamiam confundetur. Fama ergo est quod principaliter et per seipsum appetitur in regimine, quia regimen non appetitur propter se, set propter bonam famam. Initium ergo sapientie et intellectus est desiderium bone fame, que per regimen et dominium acquiritur.*

regal virtues, fidelity is what holds the state together: “Thus learn that by faith people gather, cities become habited, men make alliances, a king rules: faith keeps castles, guards cities and maintains the power of kings”.²⁹ This advice in the *Secretum secretorum* provides significant help in understanding the moral principles demonstrated in the title illumination and illustrative program of the IC.

I suggest that these admonitions provided the general framework for the ornamental program of the IC. The text of the prologue, primarily contrasting the *rex sapiens* and the *tyrannus*, also presumes the knowledge of other sources and the scale of values of other forms of government expounded in Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*. *De regimine principum* by Thomas Aquinas is also of significance as well as the work of the same title by his pupil, the above quoted Giles.³⁰ Hungarian historians have demonstrated the knowledge of Parisian and Bolognese sources of Aristotle’s theory of the state mostly in connection with the notion of *communitas* in Simon of Kéza’s *Gesta*.³¹ Ideas about the hierarchy of forms of government have the same sources. *De regimine principum* by Thomas Aquinas, written around 1265–66, reflects knowledge of the distinctions of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Thomas is mainly concerned with the differentiation of kingship and tyranny, since he regards one-person rule as the most useful form of government: “...it is more useful if the plenitude of men living together is governed by one person than be governed by many”.³² The full system of illustrating the Aristotelian concepts was formed during the 1370s when Charles V of France commissioned Nicole Oresme to translate into French four works of Aristotle: *Politics*, *Ethics*, the

Translation by János Horváth in the foreword of János Küküllői’s work: THURÓCZY 1978, 249–50. MÁLYUSZ 1966, 755 contrasts the thesis represented by KARDOS 1941, 167, and KARDOS 1955, 57–8 originating from János Horváth with reference to Küküllői’s humanism with the statement referring to the medieval concept of the prologue of the IC. For a critique of this concept, see KURCZ 1964, 359, and KURCZ 1988, 209.

²⁹ *Secr. secr./Steele* I, 19, 57.: *Scias itaque quod per fidem fit hominum congregacio, civitatum inhabitacio, virorum communio, regis dominacio; per fidem castra tenentur, civitates servantur, reges dominantur. ... Cave tibi, rex fidelissime, infringere datam fidem et serva firmiter iuramenta tua et federa etsi sint gravia.*

³⁰ KRUGER BORN 1928, especially: 488–9; BERGES 1938, 113 ff. Cf. SCHRAMM 1939, I, 223–4; RICHTER SHERMAN 1977, 320. The circumscription of the silver coin of Louis the Great (CNH II, No. 70), from the time near the illustration of the Chronicle is connected. The obverse depicts the traditional, royal *maesta* figure on the throne, on the reverse with the coat of arms the circumscription HONOR REGIS IVDICIVM DILIGIT can be seen. Such a circumscription first appears on the reverse of Charles Robert’s CNH II. No. 6 farthing most probably after the *gigliati* the Neapolitan king, Robert (*MoMT* II. 1987, 303, figs. 2. and 3.). Cf. SCHULEK 1926, 164: for the source of the circumscription: Psalm. 98, 4. The motto is also found in Saint Stephen’s Deliberations with identical words: HAVAS 2008, ch.5. For its latest interpretation, see SZÜCS 1988. with further literature (English translation: BAK-SWEENEY 1988). The stipulation of Pierre d’Auvergne, an interpreter of Aristotle’s *Politics* is very near to this motto originating from a psalm (98, 4: “You are a king liking justice”): *officium regis est esse custodem iustitiae*. Quoted: MIODÓNSKA 1979, 151. Cf. KANTOROWICZ 1957, 133, notes 143; 271.

³¹ See SZÜCS 1999; GERICS 1987, 238 f., 284 ff.

³² *S. Thomae Aqu. Op. Omn.*, 038. ORF lib.1, cap.3, 595: *utilius est multitudinem hominum simul viventium regi per unum quam per plures*. Cf. KRUGER BORN 1928, 480 ff.; BERGES 1938, 200 ff.

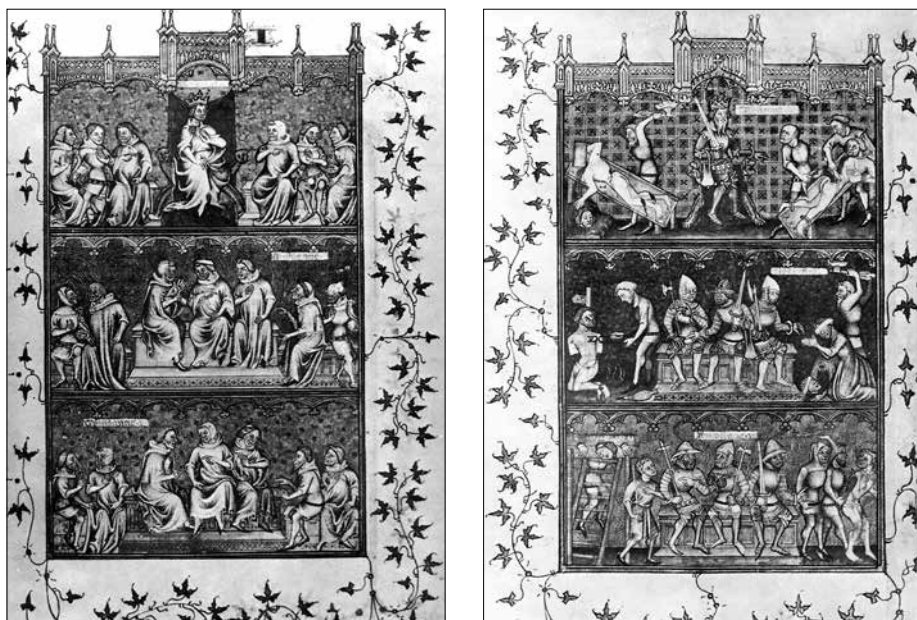


Fig. 6a–b. The forms of the bad and the good government. Nicole Oresme, Aristotle, Politics and Economics. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms 11202 foll. 1v–2r

pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* and the *Livre du ciel et du monde*. The illustrations visually to demonstrate the new concepts were made, as a significant innovation, in close cooperation between the author and the court's illumination workshop (Fig. 6). The frescos of the Sala della Pace in Siena were the most important precedents of thus demonstrating the categories of state theory.

The IC as a visual definition of just kingship and its supporters belongs into this context, although different in both its modernity and political tendency.³³ The groups of nobles standing on either side of the throne find their explanation in the definition of Thomas Aquinas: “If the ruler arranges the multitude of the free to the common benefit of the many, that reign will be right and just, which will suit the free.”³⁴ It is here that the iconography of the illumination is connected to the *communitas* theory expressed in the chronicle text (based on Simon) as a reference to the “circle of those sharing power ‘in a representative capacity.’”³⁵

³³ Cf. MAROSI 1995, 48–57 for a more detailed explanation of issues discussed here.

³⁴ S. Thomae Aqu. Op. Omn., 038 ORP lib.1, cap.2, 595: *Si igitur liberorum multitudo a regente ad bonum commune multitudinis ordinetur, erit regimen rectum et iustum, quale convenit liberis.*

³⁵ SZÜCS 1999, xcvi., MÁLYUSZ 1967, 63 emphasizes that Kálti “does not develop further the thirteenth-century

Emma Bartoniek appreciated most the modernity of Louis the Great's historians, especially, their knowledge of state theory. She suggested that in opposition to the publicists supporting the papacy (like Giles of Rome) the ideas of the anti-curial writers in the French court and in the circle of Louis of Bavaria (Marsilius de Padua) were seen as partisans of the Hungarian Angevins. She saw the beginning of this tendency in the influence of the *Polycraticus* by John of Salisbury in the Saint Ladislav legend of around 1290, which was continued in his fourteenth-century "mystical king ideal." She argued that the image of Louis reigning not from a desire to rule but as the guardian of justice (a main feature in the St. Ladislav tradition) and following reason and law—as it appears in the king's biography by John Küküllei Apród—is based on the theories of Giles.³⁶ However, she missed in the IC "those ideas on state theory in which the ideal king possessed the plenitude of virtues, independent from the people." She proposed that such a perception would have required a more thorough education than that of Márk Kálty and "which can only be discovered in fragments in Apród's work."³⁷

Andor Tarnai presented a rather positive view of the prologue, pointing also to the most up-to-date use of Nicolaus de Lyra's Bible commentary besides the more traditional Petrus Comestor, the *magister ystoriarum*. He remarked that "at that time Parisian intellectual life could be followed with a minimum delay in Buda. The adaptation of Nicolaus de Lyra's exposition [in the IC] in 1358 was merely nine years after the death of the author."³⁸ Tarnai noted the chronicler's critical tendency, indicated in the first sentences and the correction of the Biblical genealogy, locating the ancient homeland in Europe, and his special interest in the Franks' Trojan legend within the origin of the Hungarians as "the growth of self-esteem of ...a tight group [of literati]," in contrast to the mere adaptation of the "collected" stories.³⁹ These thoughts suggest that we should not assess the text and the illustrations of the IC in comparison to Simon's *communitas* theory but within the categories of fourteenth-century discussions in political theory. The legally qualified diplomats of the Hungarian court, leaning towards Franciscan spiritualism, were especially interested in these, particularly in connection with Charles Robert's exclusion from the Neapolitan succession by the ruling of Pope Boniface VIII.⁴⁰

communitas theory and that it is not about society's progress towards estates". The coronation *ordo* could have been the source of the text according to his concept, which then contradicted his earlier opinion.

³⁶ BARTONIEK 1936, 375 ff.; philological analysis: 380 f. It is suggested to be an exaggeration by BAK 1973, 23 and note on 95.

³⁷ BARTONIEK 1936, 383–4.

³⁸ TARNAI 1974, 208.

³⁹ "We do not know and can only guess the source the writer's statements concerning his political concept, for example, when the writer left out Nimrod from the genealogy of the Hungarians it concerns not only the *chamita* but the *oppressor hominum*; the first tyrant has become absent whose mere historical existence would have contradicted the idolised image of the Hungarian kings overcoming tyrants and securing a happy peace and prosperous tranquillity." TARNAI 1974, 209.

⁴⁰ From 24 September 1279; see LÉONARD 1932 I: 113, n. 1; Cf. MAROSI 1995, 55 and. note 260.

The editor's endeavor to emphasize good government was further elaborated, albeit implicitly, in the chapter explaining the "origin of the Hungarians according to Holy Scripture." The commitment to the origins from Japheth instead of Ham not only underscored their Europeanness but also separated their ancestor kings from the tyrannical oppressor, Nimrod/Menrot. This expressed the editor's most important endeavor and he gave it the necessary visual emphasis with the *S* initial to *Sicut scribit magister ystoriarum Genesis decimo capitulo* (p. 2). This initial is the last that does not illustrate the historical narration; but belongs to the cycle begun on the frontispiece and continued through the preface. The writing room interior with the man working with a plume and a knife could be formally regarded as a portrait of the editor or the scribe and in a way closing off the "theoretical" discourse of the Prologue. True, it can be also considered as a word illustration similarly to the Solomon initial, depicting Peter Comestor, referred to as the *magister ystoriarum* in the preceding sentence as the authority behind the Biblical explications, but that would have more or less the same meaning.⁴¹

However convincing all this may be, we cannot fully reconstruct the general historical and political context of the compilation written into the IC, because exactly the passages that would have described the "just and wise rule" of its sponsor, Louis I of Anjou are missing.

We can say somewhat more about the social and cultural environment of editor and illuminator: the intellectuals of the Angevin court. In the court of Louis I we know of several historians. One of them was the unknown editor of the IC, possibly Márk Kálti. Then there was the "Anonymous Minorite," most probably John Kétyi (or Egri), who wrote around 1454–55. And, most importantly, John Tótsolymosi Apród, the biographer of Louis the Great. Their works did not survive in original, but were incorporated in parts into several codices in which the IC was also included—and finally into the printed history of Thuróczy. While neither of them can be unequivocally connected to the IC (or its model) and started writing a few years later, they were in all likelihood around when the chronicle was put together.⁴²

The political ideas of John, more elaborate than that of the IC, may be regarded as a common good in the court circles. He quotes the *Secretum secretorum* and Vegetius Renatus in the prologue of his work and uses the same Biblical passage (Prov. 8, 15) as the one quoted in the prologue of the IC.⁴³ A product of chancellery, where his career started, *narratio* of the royal charter of 30 October 1350 about István

⁴¹ KRISTÓ 1987, 115. See MEZEY 1979, 138 concerning Petrus Comestor's importance in Hungary.

⁴² MÁLYUSZ 1967, 65 ff.

⁴³ ...*a quo omnes potestates velut ex sole radii derivantur, sub cuius imperio reges regnant et principes dominantur*: THURÓCZI 1985, 160: "... all power comes from Him just like the rays from the sun, and monarchs reign under his power and princes rule." See MÁLYUSZ 1973, 91 f. referring to the place and later tradition. Evaluation by MÁLYUSZ 1966, 747 ff., THURÓCZI 1988, 87 f. Cf. also MÁLYUSZ 1969.

Lackfi's deeds—also quoted in John's work—justifies the Neapolitan expedition with, among others, the need to punish tyrants (*"ut ... tirannorum puniatur crudelitas"*),⁴⁴ István Lackfi's battle is compared to the Trojan war.⁴⁵ The ideas of John reflected the concerns of (in Mályusz's words) the "[n]obility leading a wealthy and chivalrous way of life could consider itself with satisfaction being presented in his work, just as proudly as certain nobles read the charters glorifying their own merits."⁴⁶ Indeed, one of the characteristic features of the chronicle is the ample reference to the origin of the great men of the realm, listing, besides the "seven captains" and their descendants, the ancient immigrant kindreds following Master Ákos and Simon of Kéza (chapters 37–53, pp. 28–33).

Creating an up-to-date illustrated chronicle by the joint work of editor and illuminator was an important innovative enterprise. The miniator's task was similar to that of the compiler of the text: following models and adapting them with additions. To do so, was characteristic of artistic compositions in the Middle Ages. We do not know, however, whether he had earlier examples of domestic tradition illustrating the text of Hungarian chronicles. The main connoisseur of his work or even the person who inspired him must be sought in the circle of lawyers, around the royal chapel at the beginning of the reign of Louis the Great. At the centre of this circle was Miklós Vásári,⁴⁷ whose taste in illumination is witnessed by the *Decretales* codices of Padua commissioned by him.⁴⁸

The political function of the composition of the IC can be reasonably compared to that of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*. That chronicle was not only to prove the legitimacy of the Valois lineage from the Capetings but also refute English demands of succession which led to the Hundred Years' War. The French chronicle is a close parallel insofar as in both cases an important task was assigned to the illuminations.

The genre now called "illuminated chronicle" was quite modern in the middle of the fourteenth century. The types of pictures appearing in the IC play a role quite similar to those of the *Les Grandes Chroniques*.⁴⁹ The illustrations in both chronicles aim at demonstrating the unbroken line of royal genealogy. During the time of Charles V

⁴⁴ MÁLYUSZ 1973, 6. When he makes a parallel between Louis the Great and Alexander the Great he also follows the chancellery practice of laudatory passages in the narrations of charters.

⁴⁵ MÁLYUSZ 1973, 69 f.: *quod quidem prelium etiam apud Troyanos fortissimos potuisset decentissime commendari* ... "This fight would have gained a deserved appraisal even from the brave Trojans."

⁴⁶ MÁLYUSZ 1967, 72.

⁴⁷ BÓNIS 1971, 34 f.

⁴⁸ GEREVICH, L-NÉ 1957.

⁴⁹ HEDEMAN 1985; HEDEMAN 1984. See CLARK 1978 with reference to the importance of the connection between genealogy and *incidentia*. About *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* in summary: HEDEMAN 1991. She discusses essential principles of compilation during the age of Philip III: emphasizing the holiness of the French king on pp. 1 ff.; the use of the fictional Trojan story on 12; a feature of the mirror for princes on 15, emphasizing Charlemagne and Philippe II August as embodiments of royal ideals on 17 ff. and changes in the principles of compilation after the dynasty change on 51 ff.



Fig. 7. Pepin crowned by the Pope Stephen II, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, after 1314. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. fr. 2615, fol. 72v



Fig. 8. Coronation of John the Good, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, after 1314. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. fr. 2813, fol. 393r

types of pictures featuring the *pairs de France* as the support of the ruler became significant (figs 7, 8).⁵⁰ In the IC this theme appears right away at the top of the first page with the warriors on both sides of the king and then in several images of kings, usually during the act of coronation, which gave an opportunity to demonstrate the origin of their power. Andrew I is crowned and bestowed with the regalia by the great men and the prelates (p. 60); Saint Ladislás is also proclaimed king with the agreement of both ecclesiastical and secular persons who are joined by angels to express the divine will (p. 92).⁵¹ This symmetrical ceremonial formula also characterizes the miniature of King Emeric's coronation (p. 122). There is also a less ceremonial version of this type of coronation scene likewise expressing the will of the "estates" where the act is performed by the prelates in the presence of witnesses, usually with the king standing and bowing his head. The coronation of King Coloman depicted as deformed in a cartoon-like way is an example of this (p. 101): the word *legitime* in the rubric may refer to the joint will of the lords spiritual and secular. A number of other coronation scenes (pp. 108, 117, 122, 123, 125) follow a similar pattern.

The depiction of homage scenes are also noteworthy themes for illuminations with significant political meaning.

⁵⁰ HEDEMAN 1991, 110 ff.

⁵¹ VÁCZY 1985 wanted to derive the image of the *corona angelica* from Middle Byzantine sources, and assigns it as an 11th century historical source rather anachronistically. BAK 1973, 16–7 interprets it as an element aimed at decreasing the significance of the sending of the crown by the pope.



Fig. 9a. Charles IV, Detail of the votive panel of Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim (Očko von Wlaschim), 1371–75, Prague, Národní Galerie



Fig. 9b. Homage of King Peter to Emperor Henry III, IC p. 53.



Fig. 10. Homage of King Solomon to Emperor Henry IV, IC p. 89.

There are two of them in the IC: Peter and Henry III in the act of handing over the lance (p. 53, Fig. 9) and Solomon before Henry IV in the act of *immixtio manuum* (p. 89, Fig. 10).⁵² The fact that taking the feudal oath or its partial or full refusal on the part of the English king as Norman prince in relation to the French king became an important diplomatic issue, finally the *casus belli* of the Hundred Years' War. That is the reason why the English king's homage before the French monarch plays such an important role during the reign of Charles V in the picture compositions of the *Grandes*

⁵² See MAROSI 1995, 44–45 for an interpretation of the two scenes.



Fig. 14. The pursuit of the stag taking refuge in Saint-Denis, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, 1335–40, London, British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol. 92

Denis prefiguration of the above could have been the illustration with local reference of *Vita et Passio Sancti Dagoberti*. The Dagobert cycle was included in the composition of the *Grandes Chroniques* during the time of John the Good (Fig. 14).⁵⁴

The Production of the Codex

The place of origin of earlier book illuminations in Angevin Hungary is strongly disputed. It is almost impossible to say whether those requiring codices ordered them in Bologna or employed masters in Hungary who had studied in Bologna.⁵⁵ That the IC

⁵⁴ HEDEMAN 1991, 55. ff., figs. 32–3.

⁵⁵ See especially DALLI REGOLI 1980, 157, with reference to the characteristics of codex production and the illustrations of legal codices established around the University of Bologna. See GNUDI 1972, 570–1 concerning the Byzantine preconditions of the codex group and its effect in central Europe (mainly Bohemia) and on Meta Harsen's thesis (the presence of Bolognese illuminators in Hungary). The issue of the position of "Pseudo Nicolo" given the name of *Illustratore* together with differentiating from the illuminators in the workshop plays a more important role in later literature: D'ANCONA 1969, especially 12.; D'ARCAIS 1977, 33 the suggestion of the early dating (towards the end of the 1320s) of the Cesena *Infortium* together with showing the modernism of the Padua codices Nos. 24 and 25. On illuminators proved to have been in the workshop further see CONTI 1979, 2, who emphasizes the presence of external, in certain cases half dilettante, elements in the workshops of Bologna. This gives the opportunity for distinguishing the Hungarian group (Nekcsei-Bible, Angevin Legendary). The starting point is the Giottesque style of the "Maestro del 132", but the Legendary (according to Gnudi's thesis) does not belong to the history of Bolognese illumination art but of central European visual arts: (CONTI 1979, 21). In his later work (CONTI 1981, 85 f.) he regards the "Bolognese-Hungarian episode of illumination" as a parallel phenomenon with the appearance of the *Illustratore*. The "Emigrants", whose art "separated from Bologna" must have gained their education around 1325. Further cf. WEHLI 1991 (a return to the presumption of locating the workshop in Hungary, which had been disputed earlier by herself); TÖRÖK 1991, 576 f. (on the difficulty of locating the workshop with a Bolognese education background); with a reference to

was made in Hungary is, however, beyond doubt. Just as the aforementioned Oxford *Secretum secretorum* (Fig. 1): it comes from a workshop located most likely at the Angevin court. There must have been a number of technical experts in addition to the scribe and the illuminator in a specialized *scriptorium*. There were those who prepared the parchments for writing, those who folded them and made up the gatherings, and those who marked out in a now invisible way the position of the two columns, the margins and the lines pressed in with a blunt tool.⁵⁶

The illuminator's job was defined by the scribe who decided the *mis-en-page*. There is no information available on book production in medieval Hungary, but we know much about the workshop traditions of early fifteenth century France,⁵⁷ and have good reason to assume that they were similar elsewhere, too. The scribe left the space for the pictures and directed the illuminator's work also by arranging the chapter titles (which were also the captions) written in *rubrum*. This coordination was not always quite successful. In some places there was not enough space left for including the next illumination or initial, therefore one or another chapter (especially on the *recto* page) finishes short of the column end (e.g., pp. 59, 61, 134), sometimes also after the title (e.g., pp. 45, 71, 74) and the separation of title and illumination is frequent. The scribe defined the topic to be illustrated not only by appointing the space but by other means as well. The illuminator usually started out from the relevant textual passage, but sometimes did not keep to that and followed a different written or oral tradition for example in the scene of the birth of St. Stephen, where he included his mother's vision, not in the chronicle, but mentioned in the Life of the holy king. He may also have created illuminations independently by applying to the text artistic models known to him, such as the often borrowed iconography of the Three Kings Magi.⁵⁸ As we have no evidence that there would have been similar illuminated histories written and painted in Hungary⁵⁹ and most likely the first such product was the IC, the artist had to turn to other models for his work. More on this below.

The illuminators' work was usually directed not only by the text, which was fairly complicated and not necessarily understandable to them, but also by written instructions on the margin or in the space to be painted as well as by underdrawings, especially in workshops with many illuminators which worked for the book trade. Even if these sketches were erased (if not covered by the illumination), traces of them

the possibility that the Bolognese illuminators may have gone to Hungary from St. Florian in Upper Austria, on the basis of SCHMIDT 1962, 142 ff.; cf. also SCHMIDT 1973. On these stylistic critical issues and the Central European connections more recently see GIBBS 1994.

⁵⁶ On the *lineator's* work: BYRNE 1984.

⁵⁷ BYRNE 1984. See CALKINS 1978 on the phases of creating illuminations.

⁵⁸ ALEXANDER 1992 publishes rich material from the history of book illustration about the mechanism of using copying and pre-drawings.

⁵⁹ First of all see DOMANOVSKY 1899, 251: "The IC is undoubtedly a copy," and 230 ff.: the planned pictures of the Dubnic Chronicle are not based on the IC.



Fig. 16. The Huns' victory, detail: underdrawing to horses, IC p.9

Fig. 15. The Huns' hunt (detail): underdrawing of a figure under the fragmentary painting, IC p. 4

can often be found.⁶⁰ Marginal—textual or visual—instructions do not appear in the IC. Yet, illuminations damaged or soiled by water reveal underdrawings (figs. 15–16), partly differing from the final painting; but their systematic investigation (if needed, supported by advanced technology) and interpretation has not yet been done.⁶¹ As far

⁶⁰ MARTIN 1904 observes the appearance of drawing at the end of the thirteenth century in the illuminating workshops pursuing crafts, and connects their disappearance with the emergence and spread of engravings: 27. Cf. STONES 1990; ALEXANDER 1990, who quotes Martin's statement that the preparatory drawings are often better than the finished illuminations. That can be attributed to the head (*paginator*) of the workshop or the entrepreneur (*librarius*). ALEXANDER 1992, 52–71 devotes a separate chapter to the methods of formulating a program and the relevant instructions.

⁶¹ The differences in the preparatory drawing can be observed, for example, at the bottom part in the picture of the initial "Solomon's flight" (p. 91). The traces of correction can be seen in the initial "The coronation of Stephen II" (p. 108). See further, together with a higher estimation of the preparatory drawings WEHLI 2009.

as they have been studied, they are drafts of compositions drawn with the same pen as the text. They occasionally allow detecting modifications during the work or perhaps a hint at the difference between the person who had prepared the draft and the one who finished the illumination. The few visible underdrawings reveal a fine artistic concept. The masterly line conduct of the pen drawing securely outlining the sensitive spatial relations can be admired, for example, in the miniature of the hunt of the Huns (p. 4, Fig. 15) on the first figure of the right-hand-side group. A well trained hand's lively sketch preparing a plastic rendering of horses betrays a master by his refined crosshatching on the "first entry" (p. 7) and the Hun battle scene (p. 9, Fig. 16). In addition to clear outline, to landscape forms and rocks sensitive hatching adds to their plasticity (e.g., the central castle on p. 7); but this underdrawing was mostly covered by paint. In some places (e.g., in the medallion depicting Prince Ladislav's vision, p. 83) the painting is rather like a wash so that it makes the underdrawing visible in a semi-transparent way. It is a question as to whether one should assume different illuminators, one who strongly over painted the underdrawing and one who did not. In the latter cases the illuminator may not seem to have trusted being able to create a better work than the original drawing.

The illustration also produced a new quality in the composition of the text since the rubrics heading the pictures also divided the text into more or less arbitrary chapters.⁶² This shows that the concept was in fact defined by the editor. He provided the scribe with the text to be written down, apparently in parts.

First he had to prepare the manuscript of chapters 1–4. This must have been largely a new text. The further work of compilation can be imagined so that the editor used some earlier codex in which the texts of the *gesta* and the chronicles had already been unified (on which, see, above pp. 15–16). Into this he made his corrections, additions, and inserted the chapter titles.

A varied and rich illustrative system was worked out for the beginning of the codex. The first quire can be regarded as a model for the whole work, just as the ideas expressed here in text and image seem to be the program for the entire codex, as discussed above.

The title page has a unique richly decorated frame woven through with gold arabesques making the impression of a goldsmith's work and completely surrounding the text. Only on this page is it accompanied by a pen-drawn fine filigree framing and leafy foliation with gold stars. Other ornamented pages have only the latter, sometimes with the Hungarian Angevin coat of arms framed by brooches.

At the beginning of the IC a particular decorative procedure can be observed whereby the gold ground is treated like a goldsmith's work. An upper framing band

⁶² MEZEY 1964, 185.



Fig. 17. Punched ornament on the gold ground, IC p. 4



Fig. 18. Punched ornament on the gold ground, IC p. 7

appears at the heading of the title page, which was achieved by smoothing the gold-leaf placed on the red (bolus) base using blunt tools. They drew parallel lines with some blunt instrument (for example, a dry nib) and between them they created six-petaled flower motifs and small disks by lightly punching in two types of patterns (e.g., with a special punch which goldsmiths or bookbinders use). They created lines of dots with a more pointed tool in framing the coats of arms at the bottom of the page and around Saint Catherine's halo. It was recently pointed out that this plastic modeling of the gold ground comes from Italy and was used in Central European (primarily Bohemian) painting of the fourteenth century.⁶³ In addition to the punched patterns used on the title page, the imprint of another quadripartite motif in a square can be discovered in the corners of the *S* initial with the scribal portrait (p. 2). This kind of framing can be detected only on the first quire (with an especially nice example in the frame of the hunt of the Huns, p. 4. (Fig. 17), and in the siege of Aquileia (p. 14, Fig. 18). In subsequent quires interior framings were frequently drawn in ink on the gilded base with lines similar to tendrils, to which correspond white cover paint lines on the ultramarine

⁶³ See the observations in. FRINTA 1998, 240–43.

base alternating with gold, and on the colored letter bodies. The absence of punching of the gold ground is among the features which suggests that the program of decorating the codex was for some reason simplified during the process of production.

Another feature of treating the gold can be clearly seen on the original but resists reproduction. Two ways of using gold were applied in the IC. In one the gold foil pasted on the bolus layer was also painted on: figures, flags, arms sometimes also angels which reached over the contour (e.g., pp. 16, 92); in the other the gilding was put on by brush.⁶⁴ The latter is the regular technique for gilded borders, emblems and ornaments (especially patterning textiles). An application with a special result (also difficult to reproduce) is when more porous brush painted gold details with an unpolished finish is used on the gold plate with a metal effect (e.g., on crowns).

Another tour de force is how the crowning of the throne canopy on page 1 seems to step out into space from the framework; in other illuminations, a tower, a flag or a clarion appears similarly. The whole first quire demonstrates the alternation of two-column-wide illuminations and historiated initials of various sizes. At the beginning of the Hun genealogy two pictures emphasize the noble way of life of the ancestors hunting in the Meotis marshlands. This scheme returns later (on the last page of the section already, p. 14, in the siege of Aquileia and Attila in the *C* initial) when a portrait is combined with a narrative scene and the text did not offer an opportunity for portrayal. A two-column-wide picture at the bottom of the page gives “the first entry” (p. 7) a special emphasis. The image depicting the election of Attila and his victory (p. 9) is an example of how it is sometimes possible to break through the obstacles of a regular system: only a small, five-line space was left under the rubric, therefore the two-column-wide mass scene was placed at the bottom border, and a narrow band increased its right half at the top.

The second main part ended at around the middle of the second quire, finishing with the *explicit* (p. 20) and beginning with the prologue about the first and second “entries”, which has the largest illumination in the entire codex of half a page with many figures. Otherwise, this quire with the pictures of the leaders and the ancestors of immigrant kindreds tested the illuminator’s skills in employing variety rather than his real skills of composition. The depiction of Vérbulcsu with his oriental costume and Örs in kaftan (p. 26) presented the only opportunity to depict some difference among the many captains as knights in fourteenth-century arms and ducal headgear.

As if he had had enough of fiddling about with this boring material, when getting to the beginning of the third gathering the artist decided to paint larger figures in

⁶⁴ About the paint made from gold foil and ground gold cf. THEOPHILUS 1986, I. 23–24, 30–31, 33–38, 40–49. CENNINI 1971, cap. CLVII, 165 separately discusses the application of gold foil and ground gold reviewing the jointing material (*asiso*) which is suitable for both; see also caps. CLVII–CLIX, 163–69 for a technical description of the illumination technique also fundamental in case of the IC.

two initials: the ancestor of the kindred of Keled seems to be in armed conflict with Simon and Michael, the ancestors of those of Nagymarton. Apart from what the chronicle text tells us about the bellicose nature of both kindreds' ancestors, we cannot find any special reason for making them look martial. In their depiction the illuminator must have proceeded like the thirteenth-century sculptor of the Naumburg west choir who carved martial figures described as aggressive among knights, counts, and ladies.⁶⁵ Incidentally, both kindreds played important roles in the Angevin age. Charles Robert's seneschal was from among those of Nagymarton and the Bátori, Felsőlindvai and Szécsi *de genere* Gutkeled were in the time of the writing of the IC (or shortly before) court dignitaries. It is strange that their well-known coats of arms are missing from their shields especially considering that the text mentions that those of Nagymarton received a coat of arms with an eagle for their heroic deeds. Some of the coats of arms can be connected to persons of the mid-fourteenth century. The star and crescent (applied by mistake instead of three silver piles in a red field) of the Héder may refer to Henry's son Dezső of this kindred, the hero of the campaign against Basarab (p. 143, Fig. 41); the Ratold kindred with the linden leafed coat of arms was represented by members of the Jolsvai and Paksi families among the barons; the dragon of the Hermán was worn by the Lackfi, holders of the highest ranks in the Angevin kingdom.⁶⁶ In other cases, the illuminator helped himself to so-called speaking coats of arms, such as a dog head in the case of the ancestors of the Hont-Pázmány (from "Hund": instead of the real coat of arms used of the Héder kindred), or with a "homing pigeon" for the Poth ("Bote" meaning envoy) kindred, and he depicted the coat of arms of the Buzád kindred also wrong.⁶⁷ On the whole, the series suggests that the presentation of the important lineages based on a list from the thirteenth century troubled the chronicle and the illuminator quite a lot. The illuminator placed them all into the fourteenth century with costumes and types of figure, yet he was not entirely able to make them relevant to the Angevin age.

He was really in his element when in the third gathering he could finish depicting the origin of the Hungarian aristocracy with a large picture of immigrant kindreds entering Hungary, the third *ingressus/introitus* composition (p. 32), and could start illustrating the part which the editor entrusted him to do at most length, decorating it with the full grandeur of the various illumination types: the story of Saint Stephen. He expressed the change of period with heraldic means as well. Up to this point he consistently (but in a totally anachronistic way) used a fictional heraldic figure of a bird of prey (called "turul" in Simon of Kéza) on flags and shields beginning with the entry of the Huns on page 7 (also for King Attila, p. 14, Árpád, e.g., p. 23; down to Prince Géza, p. 36). In contrast, for St. Stephen—from the beginning of page. 23—the silver double

⁶⁵ SAUERLÄNDER 1989, 64–76.

⁶⁶ See ENGEL 1996, for the person, see the index *sub vocibus*.

⁶⁷ BERTÉNYI 1995, 1057; cf. description of CSAPODINÉ 1987, 135.

cross in a red field (alternating on a silver or gold base, on a triple mound) is consistently used as the charge. From here on the IC is the history of kings and their crown. Starting from the fourth quire the illuminator also had to characterize kings who were not recognized as entirely legitimate. That is how Peter appears as a martial knight with the crown held in his hands (p. 47) similarly to Samuel Aba (p. 48). The last two-column-wide picture of the codex depicts the battle of Ménfő (5 June 1044) where two crowned knights, King Samuel and Emperor Henry III stare at each other face-to-face. The outcome of the battle is signaled by flags: the Hungarian army's red and white striped flag falls on the ground with a broken pole, the imperial flag with the eagle flies high. In the left-hand corner the crown of Samuel being killed with a dagger lies on the ground. Emperor Henry, wearing a hair shirt is kneeling in the right-hand corner in front of an altar, on which stands the holy cross. The colors of the white banded Austrian coat of arms seem to appear on its antependium.

After the depiction of the battle of Ménfő the rich decoration of the first part of the codex decreases, there are no more horizontal images filling the full width of a page. The cause of this change is unknown, but from this point on increasingly long chapters filling 2–3 pages without interruption follow. It is also at this junction that the editor began using other sources in addition to the previously followed text of Simon of Kéza. Thus it is only the IC that contains a chapter on the “King of the Teutons” (p. 89) and another on Solomon written without interruption in the codex, the part which begins with “Others say...” (p. 92). “Collecting” seems to have dominated the editor's method in the following chapters about the history of the conflicts of Solomon and the princes Géza and Ladislás, including not Simon's narrative but what is referred to as the (otherwise lost) *Gesta Ladislai regis*. In the long story of Solomon, Géza and Ladislás (chapters 111–23)—titled “Their reconciliation” (i.e., that of the king and the princes, p. 79) on the last page of the fourth quire—the parts are separated only by red paragraph signs without any kind of illumination over several pages.

Following this, the scribe wrote a text of eight pages at the beginning of the fifth quire without any interruption or ornamentation. The first half of the quire would have practically remained without any illuminative decoration.⁶⁸ The reason for this difference may have been the editor's inattention when he sent the scribe a manuscript different from the usual, and forgot to make up chapters allowing space for the decorative work.

⁶⁸ The Dubnic Chronicle (OSzK Cod. Lat. 165) reminds us of the IC only as far as its text written in one column (with the exception of fol. 1r, a single colored drawing in ink belonging to the beginning of the Prologue, The Dolorous Holy Trinity instead of Solomon at this place in the IC, leaves out the space for illustrations, which is different from that of the IC for it is usually of a “landscape” format. Some have titles written in *rubrum*, others are without titles. Spaces left out certainly for pictures depicting kings at the beginning of histories of kings reflect the most general approach, which reminds us of the woodcuts of the Thuróczi Chronicle. In any case, in comparison with the IC it is worth noting that the *scriptor* of the Dubnic Chronicle intended to place illuminations before the Mogyoród battle (fol. 40r), the Vác scene (fol. 41v) and the vision of Ladislás (42r) hardly independent from the IC.

This would have been anyway difficult since after the conflict and the reconciliation the texts talk about other conflicts. The whole continuous part is actually the story of the treacherous *ispán* Vid's scheming and his fall together with Solomon. The imbalance was revealed, at the latest, when the inscribed bifolios reached the illuminator. The left half of each of the opposing pages was full of text and only the right half provided space for pictures (pp. 87–93). That is when the decision must have been made to restore the evenness of illustration. Three pages (pp. 81, 83 and 85) were decorated by medallions in the bottom margins, without titles but referring verbatim to the corresponding text. The last medallion (p. 85) about the battle at Mogyoród (14 March 1074) depicting the fratricidal conflict, also emphasized in the text, with the two types of Hungarian flag looks like a reduction of the Ménfő scene. The fifth gathering could be justifiably called the quire of angels and miracles, since, apart from the angel with the sword in the story of Attila and Pope Leo (p. 16), only here, in the Vác vision, the flight of Solomon (p. 91) and the coronation of Ladislav (p. 92) do angels play a major role. This clearly reflects the editor's increasing use of hagiographic sources for the princes turning against the crowned king, who is seen as having become unworthy of the crown. Page 93, starting with an *A* initial depicting Saint Ladislav with his battle-axe in hand is a decorated page with foliage framing. Below is the lozenge shield of the Árpáds with red and silver barry of eight.

The rhythm of illuminations and initials—mostly following them—becomes constant and rather regular from the beginning of the sixth quire. Brilliant opposing pages seem to have been the principles of decoration. Such occur at the end of the history of Saint Ladislav (pp. 98–99) thanks to two chapter beginnings being near each other. Page 99 again received a heraldic ornament: the country's coat of arms with the double cross.

In the seventh and eighth quires the brevity of chapters on the twelfth- and thirteenth-century kings and the “royal annals” character from the thirteenth century in these chapters favored a richness of decoration mainly in initials. This is the first time we see a type of *horror vacui* in the attempt to use the writing block fully. The formatting of the vignette of the Mongol invasion (p. 125) resembles the large, two-column-wide battle scenes of the beginning of the codex. The scribe left a shallow space at the bottom of a column for the vignette, and the battle of Béla IV and Ottokar occupies a similar space on the next page (p. 126), uniquely on a blue background instead of gold. Similar miniatures are those of the second Mongol invasion (p. 128), framed like the battle of the Huns (p. 9) or the “second arrival” of the Hungarians (p. 21), but only in one column. Here the illuminator was able to make a virtue of necessity: he put the scene in *premier plan* and added a pictorial commentary to the text which only mentions the devastation by fire. With figures cut off at knee level by the framing, he depicted ladies captured by the Tartars and a woman dressed in red protected by knights. It becomes obvious here that the illuminator had two choices at his disposal in interpreting the space of picture and the frame. One, used especially at the beginning of the series of illustrations,

is represented by breaking through the picture frame. There are towers, flags and swords going over the illuminated surface onto the uncolored parchment, thus emphasizing the independent spatiality of the figures just as parts of a relief freely reaching out into the space. The other emphasizes the priority of framing; the frame opens to the visible parts of the picture as a window often cutting through the details of a scene, human or equine bodies. Although both methods are present in the entire series of illustrations, the latter, with the small miniature of the second Mongol invasion as its culmination, is more frequently used towards the end, as if the miniator was braver in applying this method of composition later, after having gained some experience.

The writing of the codex reached the Angevin age at this point. The text and the pictorial decoration highlight the decisive battle with Charles's victory over the oligarchs at Rozhanovce/Rozgony (15 June 1312). The related vignette (p. 137) follows the formula of the big battle scenes and the framing of the next page (p. 138) appears as a decorative page with the figure of Charles Robert in the *A* initial and the Hungarian Angevin coat of arms in the framing. At the end of the gathering this is followed by the richly decorated opposing pages devoted to the history of the Hungarian Angevin dynasty and especially to Queen Elisabeth.

The next, tenth quire is the last. The miniator could not know that the images here will be his last works. The only illumination is the picture of the severe defeat during the campaign against Basarab (p. 143, Fig. 41a) with the reception of the envoy of the Vlachs (p. 144) in the initial belonging to the same title. The text stopped on the fourth folio of the quire (p. 146, Fig. 41b) with "according to which" alluding to the lesson of the reprimand for conceitedness. There is no reason to speculate that the chronicle was negatively affected by the severe statement being related to the king's policy, since other codices, as mentioned above, include the end of the sentence "God the Father chastises those whom he loves." The same sources show that the model text may have narrated the journey of Charles Robert and his entourage to Naples, Charles Robert's death and the coronation of Louis the Great.⁶⁹ The chronicler is more likely to have stopped working because he may have left or died. In any case, the scribe did not get any manuscript to copy after the above-mentioned word of *quatenus* and, acknowledging that, he put a full stop after the conjunction. That was when the decision was made about halting the work. The last quire contains only three bifolios (from among these half of the first one, formerly the last page, was later cut out) at the time when they decided to have the manuscript bound. A part of that decision involved the illuminator's painting a closing picture after the unfinished sentence, repeating the illumination of the defeat inflicted by Basarab (p. 143).

When he painted the closing illumination, the illuminator must have had the previous bifolio at hand so he could copy it exactly. The differences are all the more

⁶⁹ Emericus Szentpétery, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque Hungaricarum stirpe Arpadianae gestarum* (Budapest: Regia Universitas, 1938) [=SRH] I. 1937, 500–505.

striking; they could even be prime examples of medieval copying. The copy (p. 146) emphasizes primarily the terrible massacre and the king's escape but not the chivalrous self-sacrifice of Dezső Szécsi, which the illuminator previously marked by painting the ostrich-feathered royal helmet and the shield with the double cross fallen among the dead. The copy displays differences in artistic solutions as well. In the model the knights killed in the gorge line up as if they were marching to battle, only turned over by ninety degrees. They become a pile of corpses in a foreshortening perspective only in the copy where additionally a current of blood is flowing out of the gorge into which the first body is sunk to the waist. The landscape is more general, simpler and serves the action as a setting better on the copy. The relationship between the picture and the frame is also different. In the first miniature, a Romanian in a calpac throwing a rock reaches out of the frame and the frame cuts off the horses of the fleeing king's group, while the copy is closed at the top and the horse heads breaking through the right-hand frame signal the escape from the enclosed space. Which is the more successful composition? In the sense of modern thinking about painting (grand scale, spatiality) it is the latter while the merits of the earlier one are in the detail (heraldry, precision of Romanian costumes). Should they have been painted by two illuminators—note also the difference in the landscape and in the treatment of the trees: bunches of leaves in the first, a cluster of colored dots in the second—the copy expressed a critique of the master.

With this, we have arrived at the most difficult question in the art historical discussion of the IC. The art connoisseur is traditionally expected to be able to tell the difference between the contributors to a piece of art based on their style, potentially offering suggestions about the size and capacity of an illumination workshop. In the present case, this is very difficult due to the absence of other monuments. Hence, the question is whether the decoration of the IC was created by an individual or was part of a larger production at a court workshop. Naturally, even a single illuminator's work presupposes a *scriptorium* in the background with its technical and editorial staff. There are clearly different stylistic features in the codex. Thus, the additional medallions (pp. 81, 83, 85) with their elongated figures and cooler colors stand in definite contrast to the initials right before them (p. 78), as well as to the scene of the foundation of the cathedral in Vác (p. 87). The style of figures in these rather echoes the initial with Prince Béla's combat (p. 54) and the miniature about the battle at Rozhanovce/Rozgony (p. 137), as well as the first of the two Basarab illuminations (p. 143, Fig. 41). However, determining a difference is extremely difficult, since the style of the illuminations in the IC is fairly standard; no differences of training or generation can be shown, at most variations of individual talent and temperament. All in all, there is no sufficient evidence to doubt that the illuminations were done by one painter.

Compositional connections, such as between the battle scenes at the end of the codex are not at all exceptional. The repeated use of a few formulas with small changes that the illuminator thought justified is characteristic for the cycle. Thus, conscious connections are created between the illuminations. The recurring formulae draw parallels



Fig. 19. The pope bestowing ecclesiastical dignities.

In: Boniface VIII, *Decretales*, Bologna, 1350s,
Wien, ÖNB Cod. 2042, fol. 1r

between identical types of events. These parallels refer to one another with an instructive purpose; their relationship is similar to the typological composition of Biblical images. Using compositional schemes can refer to Biblical themes or other ancient stories. Ágnes Szigethi⁷⁰ has highlighted the role of the *Psalterium* battle scene topoi; Tünde Wehli emphasized the importance of the *Numeri* illustrations and the pictures of the *Decretum Gratiani* –Fig. 19). Thus the artist's insistence on the compositional formulae does not prove his weakness or epigonism (as Dercsényi tried to excuse him) but actually his strength. These parallels are there to point to lessons drawn from the stories, to connect what belongs together and signal

the basis of comparison in what is different. All this intends that the person paging through the codex should involuntarily recognize the pictorial formulae, which bear visibly understandable information or call attention to the text, calling for it to be read. This is how the main purpose of the new genre of the illustrated chronicle is achieved: teaching while delighting and entertaining.

ARTISTIC PROCEDURES OF VISUALIZING IN THE CHRONICLE

To achieve these effects, the illuminator had to apply various methods. He used the procedures common to the then novel genres, the illustrated chronicle and historical novel: costumes, arms and gestures; portraits, and over all, the construction of scenes in the space provided.

Costume and gestures

First he “modernized” the whole story by bringing it all visually to a common denominator with the help of costumes and arms. Rulers of old times and warriors from Attila to Louis I are all depicted as perfect and elegant fourteenth-century knights. Any ironic view, such as “*A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*” was entirely alien to the

⁷⁰ SZIGETHI 1968.

fourteenth century illustrator. Hence it is a misconception to even mention the intention of “being faithful to the period” as a criterion of illustrations.⁷¹

The costumes in the IC reflect the fashion at around the time of its writing. This was the age when male and female apparel became definitely distinct, when the emphasis on ideal gender character received a role in the appearance of both sexes. The men’s knee-long and sleeved doublet (the most distinguished example is the red and silver banded royal ceremonial costume of Louis the Great at the heading of the frontispiece; p. 1) emphasizes the prominent chest and the slenderness of the figure. A well-dressed man would wear colorful tights underneath (how they were fastened is shown by the depiction of abbot William in the act of changing; p. 81), and pointed footwear. A metal belt worn on the hips is the most prominent ornament of knights. A tufted collar with a cowl sometimes covers the shoulders (see, for example, the figures of the scene at Várkony, p. 62; participants of the assembly at Arad, p. 113). A knight’s armor is similar: a habergeon on the upper body with a sleeveless doublet above emphasizing the chest, metal splints on the legs and arms, and a helmet. Their varieties can be more or less seen on the male figures in the codex, especially on princes and kings. Those with two chains starting from the chest of the doublet holding the heavy arms belt were the finest; chieftains of the conquest, Saint Stephen (p. 39) and Charles Robert (p. 138), wear such. The noble woman’s wear can be seen in the illuminations depicting Queen Elisabeth. As a bride, she wears a robe with gold pattern and seamed with fur, a tiara on her head (p. 139). As a wife, she is wearing a sleeveless, close-fitting dress bordered with ermine underneath a robe clasped at the chest; on her head, she always has the frilled bonnet, the *Kruseler* (p. 140).

⁷¹ The issue of modernism was discussed differently when judging the text and assessing the illustrations. The opinion of MÁLYUSZ 1966, 744 is basically negative concerning topicality: “his concept of state and society seems to be unhistorically timeless, but in reality it moves within the ideas of the 11th century”; cf. further: MÁLYUSZ 1967, 62 f. Kristó writes about the Prologue differently: KRISTÓ 1987, 114 f., 124, cf. KRISTÓ 1977, 87 ff.; and 131.: “the nature of the source concerns the age of the discussed event and the time when it was put down in writing.” A basic difference in evaluating the illustrations is given by DERCSÉNYI 1987, 93: “... the text understandably looks back into the past, the illuminations hold a mirror to its own age sometimes even if there is a contradiction between the two. The ... illuminations show the life and material culture of the fourteenth century and they have great significance in relation to that.” The statement follows the analysis of BERKOVITS 1953, 78. In his opinion the chronicle text is an objective historical source, while the illustrations served as a fourteenth century update. Berkovits’s 1953 study is the only serious attempt to unfold a comprehensive concept of ornamentation, despite the fact that he articulates his judgement with the phraseology of the time and despite his presumptions referring to the triumph of realism and certain illuminations reflecting anti-feudal class struggle and social criticism. DERCSÉNYI 1987, 98 expressed his skepticism concerning the assumptions of Berkovits. “[However,] there is a higher level of depicting reality when the artist does not simply depict nature, man, fauna, buildings and costumes ... We would not like to show our illuminator as an artist rising above his age.”



Fig. 20. Louis of Taranto and Queen Joan of Naples before the Holy Trinity, *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit*, Cristoforo Orimina, about 1354. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms.fr. 4274. fol. 1r

shrine of Zara made between 1377 and 1380.). Stella Mary Newton correctly compared the occidental court fashion of the IC with the French-like costumes in the manuscript of the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit of Naples* (Fig. 20), supporting the older idea about the decoration of the codex having been influenced mainly by Neapolitan court art.⁷² The Parisian codex (BN Ms.fr. 4274) is a late work of the Neapolitan court illuminator, Cristoforo Orimina, from around 1354.⁷³ The fashionable costumes of the participants at the court ceremonies in the codex (Fig. 21) are very different from those of

These are the characteristic signs of the fourteenth-century “fashion revolution,” the beginning of modern fashion.⁷² They prevailed widely in Europe and they can be found everywhere in Central Europe as well. Sculptures, like the sepulchral figures of Duke Rudolf IV of Austria (d. 1365) and his wife from the *Stephanskirche* in Vienna (now in the museum), are good examples for this appearance and details on them can be studied better than on the illuminations.⁷³ The recently found carved but unfinished tomb of Palatine Nicholas Garai from before 1385 is a witness to the existence of both the use in Hungary of the armor depicted in the IC and the artistic connections to Viennese sculpture.⁷⁴ The *Kruseler*⁷⁵ belongs to the fashion of the same region (on the sculpture and tomb of Princess Catherine in Vienna, on the figure of the younger Queen Elisabeth⁷⁶ on the Saint Simeon

⁷² HASSE 1978, III. 137–38, NEWTON 1980a, 86–87.

⁷³ Cf., together with the models and similar depictions, SCHMIDT 1977/78, SCHMIDT 1970, SCHMIDT 1992, 142–74, 175–228, and figs. 151–206.

⁷⁴ *Pannonia Regia* 1994, Cat. No. IV–49, 276–78.

⁷⁵ NEWTON 1980a, 92.

⁷⁶ *MoMT* II. 1987, Fig. 801.

⁷⁷ HERMANN 1928, 120.

⁷⁸ On its stylistic position see BOLOGNA 1969, 305 ff., more recently (the *Statuts* manuscript illuminated by Orimina [1354–55] and the Seven Sacraments cycle in the *Incoronata* painted by Roberto di Oderisio [after 1352] as the two possible ways of Neapolitan painting at the beginning of the second half of Trecento): LEONE DE CASTRIS 1986, 377 f.

the courtiers depicted in the Mechelen Bible, the chief work of the previous decades, the age of King Robert (Fig. 5).⁷⁹ The difference between these codices date the fashion presented in the IC as being exactly proper for the time of its writing: close to Orimina's late work and different from the early one.

The borrowing and frequent use in several variations of a ceremonial formula often applied in the illustrations of the statutes of the knights of Naples is quite characteristic for the IC. A recurrent form in the illustrations accompanying the rules of etiquette in the *Statuts* is the image of the king (mostly under a canopy or pediment) in a three-quarter profile on an orthogonal platform on the left side, with his subjects and knights approaching him from the right.⁸⁰ This type of image is clearly a derivation of some Adoration of the Magi scene (except for the number of the participants). Very similar compositions in the IC are in the reconciliation scene of Solomon and the princes (p. 78) or where Saint Ladislav receives Ruthenians (p. 98). There are several varieties of it, especially in the initials: Peter's envoy before the emperor (p. 50); the two *homage* scenes (pp. 53 and 89, figs 9, and 10); King Coloman in the scene of blinding Álmos and Béla (p. 106); Béla and Ilona at the assembly in Arad (p. 113, Fig. 22),



Fig. 21. Louis of Taranto venerated by knights and poor men, *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit*, Cristoforo Orimina, about 1354. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms.fr. 4274. fol. 51v



Fig. 22. The assembly at Arad, IC, p. 113

⁷⁹ AVRIL 1969, 314 ff.; cf. SCHMITT 1970, 482. For a recent summary of the stylistic position of the illuminator Cristoforo Orimina see LEONE DE CASTRIS 1986, 376, Orimina, Cristoforo: PERRICCIOLI SAGGESE, *EAM* VIII, 870–71. Cf. CSAPODI-GÁRDONYI 1976 with reference to the portraits of the Mechelen Bible. See PERRICCIOLI SAGGESE 2001, 129 with reference to Orimina's change of style and its roots in the Avignon international court culture.

⁸⁰ See an example (Paris, B.N. ms. fr. 4274, f. 3v) MAROSI 1995, Fig. 22.

and the coronations of Géza II (p. 117), Stephen III (p. 121), the usurper of the crown Stephen IV (ibid.), Ladislav III and Andrew II (p. 123) and Béla IV (p. 125). Overall, this formula offers a compositional solution providing the fundamental scheme to the structure of picture most often used in the IC. It enabled the illuminator to represent the dual nature of a passive ruling figure and various events in one picture. Its significance is increased by the fact that the fashionably costumed type is used in these compositions. The costumes not only lend a fourteenth-century court image to the historical scenes but also inform the composition defined by ceremonies performed by elegant and slender figures.

However, the adoption of the composition successful in Naples is not the only model. It was also inspired by examples from Central Europe, such as those—also not without Italian influence—in the Bohemian courtly art of the age (Karlstejn, the former Luxemburg genealogy, the related illuminations of Vyšehrad/Vorau Lectionary)⁸¹ and in Austria (Vienna: the former *Hapsburgerfenster* of the Stephanskirche). The fact that the emperors in the IC (Henry III, p. 53 and Henry IV, p. 89) recall some of the portraits of Charles IV (Fig. 9a) makes a Czech connection probable. The presence of such a portrait in Hungary exactly during the decisive period of the work on the Karlstejn cycle, is not surprising considering the amicable relationship between Louis the Great and Charles IV and their joint weddings in Buda in 1353.⁸²

Not only the noble ladies' *Kruseler* (bonnet) is a Central European fashion, but so is the dual formula of a monarch's representation some-times as gallant knights in armor with a sword or the regalia, some times as peaceful and wise kings enthroned with crown and scepter, which the illuminator of the IC used. This duality is likely to be of a Central European origin and recognizable in the Bohemian tradition of the fourteenth century, in both painting and monumental sculpture.⁸³ The greatness of the most important personalities (Attila, Saint Stephen, and Charles Robert) is underlined by their being depicted in both types. The kings on the throne wear without exception a traditional robe open in the middle and clasped on the chest. The coronation mantle of the Hungarian kings belongs to this type. It was made by the transformation of the chasuble donated by St. Stephen and Queen Gisela in 1031.⁸⁴

Two standing royal figures are wearing fashionable mantles clasped on the right shoulder, which was popular among noblemen in the fourteenth century. Such a mantle can also be seen on the fragment of the red marble tomb of Louis the Great

⁸¹ STEJSKAL 1978, 535 ff. Cf. figs. 10, 11, 12, and 25; cf. MAROSI 1995, figs. 15, 16.

⁸² MAROSI 1995, figs. 42–45 and 10–14.

⁸³ Cf. MAROSI 1982, 60–1. Included in this context are the two types of Saint Ladislav depictions on the first gold forint coins with his embossed figure instead of that of John the Baptist: CNH II. 64B, and II. 66. For the Luxemburg family tree type figure see STEJSKAL 1978, especially: 540. For the two types, see SWOBODA 1940, 28 ff. ("kriegerisch" and "priesterlich"). The same dualism is attributed to the unity of artistic concept by SCHMIDT 1970, 115.

⁸⁴ *Coronation Mantle* 2005, *passim*.



Fig. 23. King Béla IV, IC p. 126



Fig. 24. King Béla II, IC p. 114



Fig. 25. Simone Martini: Saint Ladislav, Altomonte, Museo di Sta Maria della Consolazione

in Székesfehérvár.⁸⁵ Béla II (p. 114, Fig. 24) is wearing a hooded shoulder collar over his mantle; Béla IV (p. 126, Fig. 23) has only a mantle over his tunic. The two standing figures are Gothic draped-figures in the most classical sense conceived as sculptures. In particular, the illumination of Béla IV in the mode of his standing (with *Standbein* and *Spielbein*) and the treatment of the drapery reminds one of Simone Martini's Saint Ladislav panel of Altomonte (Fig. 25). The panel, which belonged to the Santa Maria della Consolazione, the church of the leader of the Hungarian party of Naples, Filippo di Sangineto, must have been painted,

⁸⁵ LÖVEI 1982, Cat. No. 107, 200–201. For the conservative fashion of the robe, see KOVÁCS 1987, 238–40.



Fig. 26. Golden Florin of King Louis the Great, CNH II.64B

according to some, at the end of Simone's life during Queen Elisabeth's journey to Italy in 1343. Others put it to around 1320, during the life of Queen Mary of the Árpád dynasty.⁸⁶ The later date seems more probable because it shows a stronger correspondence to the late style of the great master of Siena. Joseph Polzer, who suggested the later date justly pointed out that the Saint Ladislav figure of Altomonte is related to the one on the gold florin of Louis the Great (CNH II.64B—Fig. 26).⁸⁷ However, the florin with the Saint Ladislav figure did not have wide currency and was replaced by the later exclusively used coin with the figure

of Ladislav in the armor of a knight, minted after 1354. Polzer drew the correct conclusion that the gold florin (and consequently the two Béla depictions in the Chronicle) and Simone Martini's panel had a common Hungarian precedent. This is most obvious, for example, in that the embroidered antependium donated by Queen Elisabeth for the altar of San Pietro in Rome must have depicted Saint Ladislav in this form. Thus, it would have had not only a general Central European but a definitely Hungarian source.

Another—in a way opposing—style of identifying persons can be characterized as "Orientalism."⁸⁸ The various types of figures differing from the international court fashion belong into this category, all representing an ethnic or historical "otherness." Eastern-type warriors as "pagans" appear in European art especially in the train of the crusades.⁸⁹ The formula for depicting the actual enemy quickly became the means of characterizing the historical "pagan". The expression of the two differences with identical means and giving a historical perspective with alien costume are early forms of the attempt at historicism. By the end of the fifteenth century, definite national types appeared in the court ceremonies and in the theatre as well as in the arts, in place of the general formulas of Eastern costumes. The oriental types of figures in the IC reflect a stage in this development. Simone Martini's frescos in Assisi and the images of the Ursula legend in Treviso prompted to Stella Mary Newton to differentiate two types of representation, which can also be separated chronologically, in the Hungarian (ori-

⁸⁶ POLZER 1980 published it as Simone's last work. For the early dating, however: BOLOGNA 1985, Cat. No. 8, 73 ff., MARTINDALE 1988. In connection with the early dating, see PROKOPF 1992, with reference to the fact that the Saint Ladislav picture was made in Naples between 1315 and 1320 and that its iconography was formed in Naples.

⁸⁷ *MoMT* II 1987, Fig. 305–306, POLZER 1980, 13.

⁸⁸ For a longer review of this issue in a separate chapter see MAROSI 1995, 57–66.

⁸⁹ Such a battle scene can be seen in the Saint Alban *vita*, Trinity College, Dublin, Ms. 177 (E.1.40) f. 48; and later its copy depicting the Damietta battle in the chronicle illustration, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 16, f. 54v; see ALEXANDER 1992, 111 and figs. 182, 183.



Fig. 27. The Last Judgement, detail, Nekcsei-Bible, before 1338, Washington, Library of Congress, Ms. Pre-Accession 1, fol 5v

gested by the fact that the *Nekcsei Bible* [Fig. 27] was finished before the possessor's or donor's death in 1328, hence its proximity to the "1328 master" [Fig. 28], in contrast with the other dated codex produced in Bologna, ⁹¹ Miklós Vásári's Padua *Decretales* codices of 1343.)⁹²

On the title page of the IC, the difference of the two groups surrounding the throne is conspicuous. Those standing to the right are armored knights in occidental fashion with swords, while the members of the group to his left are wearing colorful caftan-like dresses, eastern-

entalizing) attire. According to her, in the illuminations of the IC there is a "scholarly approach" to the ethnic costumes of peoples playing a role in Hungarian history, while the illuminations of the earlier *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* reflect a much more domestic perspective.⁹⁰ (The date of the *Legendary*, c. 1340, is sug-



Fig. 28. *Matricola dei merciai*, 1328. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale Ms 633, fol. 1

⁹⁰ NEWTON 1980/b 235. According to Newton, for Hungarians the elements of Oriental-like costumes in Italy do not necessarily express sympathy. The most important sources in favor of this view have been available for a long time in the Villani's chronicles. On the execution of the Prince of Durazzo by an "infidel Cuman": VILLANI 1909, I, 10, p. 200, and the description of the Hungarians' military order and attire VI, 54. 257 ff.; for the original text, see MISKULIN 1905, 75–76, and for a corresponding depiction in the IC 68–69. Newton is followed by GIBBS 1989, 128–29, 139, 149, and GIBBS 1992b, 284.

⁹¹ For Giotto's presence and influence in Bologna see CONTI 1981, 81. For the disappearance of old-time masters from Bologna in the 1340s, see CONTI 1981, 96.

⁹² GEREVICH L-NÉ 1957; cf. *Da Giotto* 1974, No.102 (with literature); *Louis I* 1982, Cat. Nos. 25, 26, 133 f. See also VIZKELETY-WEHLI 1989, 103 ff.

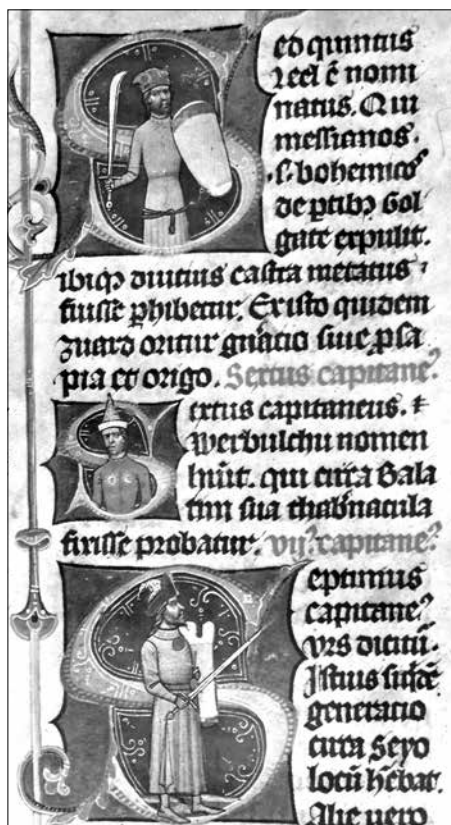


Fig. 29. Dukes of the Hungarians, IC, p. 26

style fur calpacs; three figures in the foreground hold a bow, a mace, and a saber. The two groups are entirely symmetrical; presented as equal participants in the support of the monarch (Fig. 3). In the traditional interpretation the rendering of the two groups was considered to be authentic, presuming that the costume of a part of fourteenth-century Hungarian noblemen represented an old and continuous tradition.⁹³ Having seen how the illuminator of the codex placed the noble knights and princes of the past into his own age without hesitation, he could have very well done the same with the oriental costumes and armaments. If so, the oriental-dressed warriors, similar to the Hun-Hungarian ancestors (as depicted in the early chapters of the IC, Fig. 29) would have represented Angevin-age Hungarian aristocrats proud of their eastern, “Scythian” origin as presented in chapter 6 (pp. 5–7) of the IC. Among the several interpretations of this “Oriental” group—some suggesting subject ethnic groups or vassal princi-

⁹³ The major difficulty of interpretation is the fact that the same (late) source as the IC bears witness to the Oriental-like costumes of the conquering Hungarians, records Cuman customs spreading in the thirteenth century and Oriental elements in fourteenth-century fashion. For other written and archaeological sources with reference to their existence, see LOVAG 1974, 381–408. For Cuman dress see PÁLÓCZI-HORVÁTH 1980. For the interpretation of the frontispiece illuminations, LOVAG 1974, 404 ff., and PÁLÓCZI-HORVÁTH 1989, 73. The IC “immortalized the spectacle, unusual in European courts, which showed the reception of subjects and guests from foreign lands by the Hungarian monarch.” (The keyword “immortalize” in the quotation has become rooted in reportage and photography in modern times; however, it is of questionable value in the context of the fourteenth century.) The presumption of an intention to document the foreign-friendly attitude to the illustrations in the IC is prevalent in Hungarian historical and archaeological literature: NAGY 1900, 93–94, SZENDREI 1905, 9–10. Only László Éber warned that in so far as the sources of Oriental-like costumes in French codices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were contemporary Hungarian costumes they are also the sources of fantastic fabrications; exposition by SZENDREI 1905, 430. For the evaluation as a realistic costume historical document, see ZICHY 1934, VARJÚ 1935, 343 ff., LÁSZLÓ 1955, 144 ff., KALMÁR 1971, 19 ff., 62 ff., 133 ff.

palities⁹⁴—one should consider a rather “ideological” one, referring back to the claim of Scythian-Hun ancestry of the Magyars, an issue that came to be central part of the late medieval rhetoric of the nobility.⁹⁵

On the other hand, the two types may simply refer to the kinds of warriors that constituted the medieval army of the kingdom: Western style heavy armored knights (ever since the thirteenth century) on the one hand and light cavalry of nomadic traditions on the other. Uniting the traditional and the new knightly armed forces may be an essential element of wise reign.

True, however, that recalling eastern traditions by the oriental figures in the IC might have evoked unpleasant associations in Western viewers. Hungarian armies (and especially their Cuman auxiliaries) turning up in their oriental appearance was feared and detested rather than seen as interesting. Hungarians and other East Europeans were generally accused of lacking chivalric manners and skill in knightly battles. Since their manner of fighting and armament required a different training, Western viewers did not consider them to be admissible to tournaments (although fighting games in their own way seem to have been known).⁹⁶

An important endeavor of the Angevins was to establish Western knightly manners in Hungary, to introduce and spread their rules and rituals including tournaments.⁹⁷ Perhaps the three rider effigies “similar to his majesty in body and soul” appearing at Charles Robert’s funeral with three kinds of armaments used at tournaments may have to be seen in this light.⁹⁸ It is as if the series of pictures in the IC showing the east-

⁹⁴ For the various proposals for interpretation: “subject peoples” PÓR 1895, list of pictures, 641–42; Hungarian knights vs. Cuman, Bessi and Székely fighters with the observation that the illuminator “did not depict primarily lords but stablemen, carriers, messengers, shepherds and camel-drivers...” in old costumes: VARJÚ 1935, 346. Gyula László, relying on the text of pseudo-Maurikios and *The Secret Story of the Mongols*, and primarily on the analysis of Avar princes’ grave finds, identified the three armigers on the left with Hungarian lords depicted with their due emblems and royal regalia: LÁSZLÓ 1955, 145 f. György Györffy interpreted the two wings of the title painting as the royal guard: “... next to Louis the Great, to his right, there are armored knights, while ethnic types in various costumes are to his left; a Cuman with a pointed hat and perhaps a Russian and a Jazygian with coned headgear next to him.” GYÖRFFY 1959, 89, also followed by KRISTÓ 1977, 137. Ilona Berkovits wrote about “the vassals of Hungary and of its ruler.” BERKOVITS 1953, 90. CSAPODINÉ 1987, 132 recorded all the hypotheses.

⁹⁵ KLANICZAY 2011; KUBINYI 2006.

⁹⁶ cf. MAROSI 1995, 66.

⁹⁷ See VAJAY 1969, 279 ff., FÜGEDI 1985. KURCZ 1988.

⁹⁸ For a detailed analysis see HORVÁTH 1972, 133: “King Charles’s three ceremonial horses adorned with purple covers and mounted by valiant knights dressed in the king’s clothes stood in front of the door of the church. The knight sitting on the first horse was dressed to shoot as is due to the royal majesty, the other was armed to thrust a spear, the third mounting the most exquisite horse wore the military armor due to royal dignity, armed for battle. The three horses and knights were in pearls and precious stones and beautiful purple embroidery, and were similar on these horses to the king in soul and body, so when people of all walks of life in passing saw them and the above-mentioned royal regalia they broke out crying...” On the basis of THURÓCZY 1978, 244–55, Erik Fügedi presumed that *tornamentum* and *hasiludium* in the Latin text corresponded to the two types of knightly tournament and reflected Charles Robert’s efforts to bring in these tournaments: FÜGEDI 1985, especially 395.

ern manner of fighting and the characteristic armament as a historical “national” tradition were to make peace with Western knighthood. That is why the two groups of warriors accompanying the royal majesty on the frontispiece are presented as equals.

The artistic means of representing the notion of eastern origin correspond to the general interest in “orientalism” in the fourteenth century. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* belongs to an earlier phase, where, in addition to ageless costumes, Roman soldiers appear in Classical-Byzantinizing style. This type can hardly be regarded as a Hungarian tradition.

The high, cone-shaped headgear often appears in different functions in the *Legendary*, for example, I/15, 16 worn by scribes, Pharisees, pagans and Eastern wise men and magi. A similar hat—sometimes decorated with feathers—assigned to figures that may represent Hungarian dignitaries, is visible there in the images of the Saint Ladislás legend. At one place the Cumans’ cap with a slashed upturned rim decorated with pearls over a Mongoloid face with a twisted moustache, a saber and a mace can be seen. This image must have had a Hungarian precedent.⁹⁹ That’s why Stella Mary Newton called it “domestic” in contrast to the IC’s “scholarly” orientalism.¹⁰⁰ In fact it is only the Cuman headgear which shows a similarity between the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and the IC.

The beginnings of historicizing orientalism can be seen in the works by Giotto (the legend of Saint Francis, Crucible of Fire), Ambrogio Lorenzetti (the scene of the Ceuta martyrdom) and Andrea da Firenze (Cappella degli Spagnuoli, *Ecclesia militans*—Fig. 30).¹⁰¹ Fourteenth-century illuminations in the French court applied orientalizing



Fig. 30. Andrea da Firenze: The descending of the Holy Spirit, detail of a vault fresco, from 1365. Firenze, Sta Maria Novella, Cappella degli Spagnuoli

⁹⁹ MAL pl. XLIV.

¹⁰⁰ DIEHL 1906, the initiator of this line of research, explained the origin of Nubian and Mongolian types in Giotto's paintings with the slave trade and journeys to the Orient. The principle presumption of Diehl's study is the reflection of the *couleur locale exacte et vrai* in Italian painting. Later statements referring to common artistic pre-pictures overshadowed the role of studies on location; for example, RABY 1982, GOETZ 1938. Leonardo Olschki explained the demand for a historical approach by the intention of ethnic individualization in Giotto's art and the fourteenth century's exoticism of an Asian nature. However, he emphasized that the fantastic physiognomic and costume studies were going too far, even in travelogues: OLSCHKI 1944. Rudolf Wittkower's statement characterizes this well: "They do not believe Marco Polo but Odoriso and Jean de Mandeville," WITTKOWER 1977. Ideas about the Orient and eastern peoples represent an organic part of the medieval world concept in the sense that the *imago mundi* inseparably includes the geographical and historical world view, see VON DEN BRINCKEN 1968.

¹⁰¹ HOLST 1972; cf. GARDNER 1979. The Turkish turban can be found as an attribute in the pictures of Mohammed depicted in hell; POLZER 1964, 463 ff.



Fig. 31. The dukes of the Trojans, Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, Venice, about 1370, fol. 26. Coligny, Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana

alien, wild people from Asia breaks in to Europe.¹⁰⁵ At this point, the history of oriental people has relevance to the question that occupied the chronicler of the IC.

The Orientalizing representations of the IC belong to a type of dress that contrasts and distances it from the present hinting at an inchoative historicism. They correspond to contemporary foreign Orientalizing images regardless of whether they had any factual basis in Hungary. A similar series of images in the codex *Historia destructionis Troiae* of Guido delle Colonne from around 1370 in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana in Geneva depict the Greek and Trojan characters similar to the pre-Christian genealogical cycle in the IC. The Geneva codex depicts the Greeks in an Antique way while the Trojans are portrayed as Asians (Fig. 31). *Dux Nestor* wears a ducal hat like the princes

costumes with the purpose of marking a difference similarly to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendry*: they are applied to prophets, Romans and Jews.¹⁰² The culmination was achieved by the court art of the beginning of the fifteenth century in the Bible illustrations of the circle of the Boucicaut Master, in the oriental travel scenes of the *Merveilles du monde* and in the Carthage characters in the pictures to Livy.¹⁰³ The illustrations of oriental travelogues illustrate the texts in the sense of conventional images following the traditional imagination about the East from the time of Alexander the Great. An essential component of this geographical imagery is the division of the earth among Noah's sons and within that defining Europe as Japheth's inheritance.¹⁰⁴ The geographical location of Gog and Magog, peoples locked behind iron gates by Alexander the Great belongs to the eschatological history of the world. The presentiment of their escape, the fear of the arrival of the Last Judgment always emerges whenever an

¹⁰² For the Narbonne parament centurio, see MEISS 1967, Pl. 1.

¹⁰³ MEISS 1968, 80–1, 115–6, 116–22.

¹⁰⁴ FISCHER 1957, 10 ff.

¹⁰⁵ ANDERSON 1932, 13. The Hungarians (among other peoples to whom the legend was also applied) cf. VON DEN BRINCKEN 1968, 172–3.



Fig. 32. The judgement of Paris, Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, Venice, about 1370, fol. 17v. Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana



Fig. 33. The Trojan horse, Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, Venice, about 1370, fol. 17v. Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana

and dukes in the IC, and Priamus's and Memnon's crowns are also similar. The attributes of Paris are a bow and arrow; Protesilaus and Antenor wear kaftan-like gowns and pointed cone-shaped hats with an upturned rim; Aeneas is also in a kaftan-like costume with a cone-shaped hat.¹⁰⁶ The scenes also depict Trojans wearing similar headgear like "nightcaps" (figs 32, 33); costumes and architectural shapes reminiscent of the style of the IC. Hugo Buchthal argued that the headgear differentiating the Trojans originates from a late Antique model, probably illustrations for Virgil, as misunderstanding of Phrygian caps.¹⁰⁷ An important part of Buchthal's reasoning involves the presumption of a precedent which was followed by the Bodmeriana manuscript and the Madrid Guido going back to the style of the sixth-century Vienna Genesis (which was then in Venice). He understood the endeavor of the illustrator of the codex from the circle of Doge Andrea Dandolo to "artificially and falsely create an artistic continuity, which had really never existed"¹⁰⁸ to the legend of Trojan origin of the Venetians.

In this context, a recent adventurous attempt to locate the famous Budapest codex of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (University Library, Cod.Ital. 1) into the circle of the Hungarian Angevin court and to attribute its illumination to the same workshop (and

¹⁰⁶ BUCHTHAL 1971, Pl. 46–47. Cf. SAXL 1957, 125–38.

¹⁰⁷ BUCHTHAL 1971, 41.

¹⁰⁸ BUCHTHAL 1971, 61. For the cultural environment, see SAXL 1957, 139 ff. For the Padua and Bologna connections of Venetian codex illumination and the influence of Pseudo-Nicolò, cf. PALLUCCHINI 1964, 94 ff. The questions concerning the Bolognese origin of style of *Promissioni* (1342, Museo Correr) connected to Doge Andrea Dandolo are in the center of these issues; see VELMANS 1970, 230 ff. The connections of the *Illustratore* workshop with Hungary and at the same time with Venice are difficult to separate from the iconographical-theoretical connections discussed here. The Venetian political attractions of the Paduan humanist circle sympathizing with Louis the Great are also included here.

so, to predate its activities to the early 1340's, the very beginning of the reign of King Louis I) by Maria Prokopp must be mentioned. A common Italian–Hungarian undertaking of a facsimile publication together with a series of studies presents the historical, stylistic, and linguistic arguments for its coming from the same Venetian circle as the codices of the *Promissioni*-manuscripts as well as the *Historia Troiana*. This hypothesis seems to be rather a misunderstanding of common iconographical and stylistic features, based on the fact that the provenance of the codex from the Corvinian library was accepted by Sultan Abdulhamid II at his donation in 1877.¹⁰⁹

A more popular Geneva version or its model may have influenced the painter of the IC. In the light of the Venetian connection of the Chronicle, the reason for this is obvious. Perhaps because of his studies in Padua or his travels in Italy, Simon of Kéza included the story of Venice's Trojan foundation in his chronicle and in turn, Andrea Dandolo's chronicle included information about the Hun story that Paulus Minorita took from Simon's *Gesta*.¹¹⁰ These textual connections may have suggested to the miniator of the IC to turn to the model of the two Venetian Guido manuscripts (the Madrid and Venice copies) for inspiration. Finally, the wooden horse scene of the Guido manuscripts can also be regarded as a compositional model for the white horse episode in the Conquest illumination (p. 21, Fig. 44). The scholarly use of the elements of the Trojan myth strengthened the tendency that the chronicler revealed with the attempt to correct the Biblical genealogy. Anonymus's *Gesta* had already started a tradition with its introduction of Troy. Thus the Chronicle's "Orientalizing" layer, the self-portrait of a nation that regards itself equal with the Trojans and originating itself from Scythia, represents a different level of reality from the presumably precise depiction of costume and armament.

The suggestion of the Hungarians' descent from Attila's Huns is not the only Orientalizing element in the chronicle. The visual characterization of the Cumans (in the battle with Saint Ladislás, pp. 72 and 129) and the Mongols (pp. 125 and 128) is difficult to differentiate from the above. Their main characteristic is their pointed cone-shaped hat without fur and with an upturned rim. That is what Kean, "Duke of the Bulgarians and Slavs" (p. 41) is wearing and the same can be interpreted on the head of King Stephen III's escort (p. 121), albeit with difficulty. It is relatively easy to tell the difference from the Romanians in great fur coats and Astrakhan caps (p. 143) and the Ruthenians in similar costumes named in a caption (p. 98).

¹⁰⁹ PROKOPP 2006, 41–48. 45–6, cf. the contributions by Giorgio Fossaluzza, Michelangelo Zaccarello and György Domokos in the same volume.

¹¹⁰ ECKHARDT 1928. Raising the connection between Andrea Dandolo and Küküllői: KARDOS 1941, 168, KARDOS 1955, 58 ff.; MÁLYUSZ 1966, 755. KURCZ 1964, 358, 361 regards the analogies, which serve as the basis of Tibor Kardos's theses, as based on commonplaces. From the point of view of the connection analyzed here, KARDOS 1955, 63 makes a significant remark about the fact that the *Codex Acepheus*, contains after the chronicle the text of eastern travel writings of the *Historia Alexandri Magni*, then of Odoriso da Pordenone.

The illumination of the *Introitus diversarum nationum* is an ambitious one trying to characterize several foreign peoples (p. 32). The chapter belonging to this picture is actually a single list including the settlers during the reign of Prince Géza and Saint Stephen: *Bohemi, Poloni, Ispani, Hismahelite seu Saraceni, Bessi, Armeni, Saxones, Turingi, Misnenses et Renenses, Cumani, Latini*. The interpretation of one group is relatively sure. The riders bringing their women on the saddles depicted in the middle may represent the group of Ishmaelites, Petchenegs and the Cumans.¹¹¹ General, oriental costumes can be found scattered in the other groups in the same picture. Their characteristic features match those of the right side group of the title page: pointed or flat Astrakhan caps, seamed and cone-shaped headgear, sabers, bows and arrows, kaftan-like colorful dresses.¹¹²

"Clothes maketh the man." Since the end of the nineteenth century art history has been discovering the most important expressive means of the social message in medieval works of art in costume.¹¹³ The principle component of medieval compositions is usually not the human person but a figure defined by costume as a representative of a social or ethnic group and rank. The "life" that the illustrator describes or makes up (but does not reproduce!) is a priori the life of courtly society as it is manifested in ceremonies. A review of the types of figures and costumes makes us realize that the scenes are mainly populated by the great men, and that events are represented by their conflicts. The lower strata of society, the representatives of common people, are present only in marginal roles, here and there where it is necessary in the illuminations. Even the beaters leading the noble hunting dogs in pictures depicting Hun hunting scenes (pp. 4 and 5) wear ceremonial dress. However, common people are present in the *ingressus* illuminations; the poorer Huns have sacks or covey their children in back carriers or in carts (p. 7) and common Hungarian women with babies on their arms follow the men during the *Landnahme*. Meanwhile, shepherds with Astrakhan caps (Vlachs?) drive cattle in the mountains—all this is literally taking place on the margin of history (p. 21). Such are the workers at the church construction in Várád (p. 99) and the "people" who appear in the scene of the half naked flagellants (p. 126). Even tormentors depicted as cruel are presented as soldiers with similar armament to that of knights (persons who

¹¹¹ PÁLÓCZI-HORVÁTH 1980, 410 f. For forms of headgear in the IC, see NAGY 1900, 105 ff.

¹¹² The depiction of the marching in of different peoples also reminds us of similar Venetian cycles. For the depiction of peoples in the twelfth-century cupola mosaic of the Advent of the Holy Spirit, see DEMUS 1984, 148 ff. There are Scythians on the apostle martyrdom mosaic in the western dome of San Marco with the inscription *gens Scythica credit* referring to them; Latins, Tartars, Turks, Hungarians, Greeks, Goths, Egyptians and Persians are depicted on a pillar head of the Palazzo Ducale from the end of the fourteenth century. For the description see MAROSI 1994, 80–81. According to Stella Mary Newton, experience is the source of fourteenth-century orientalism—primarily learning about the Hungarians who were in contact with the west and ethnic groups who accompanied them. Thus, for example, Basarab's fighters (IC, p. 143) who are characterized as "Bessarabian tribal fighters" (!) and remarks that their fur coats corresponded to those worn by Romanian shepherds ever since the time of Herodotus. I, for one, attribute a more significant role to the legacy of depictive forms.

¹¹³ SAUERLÄNDER 1983.

blind Vazul, p. 44, the man who blinds Peter, p. 59, and those who blind Álmos and Béla, p. 106). Others wear court costumes as pages at the funeral of Saint Emeric, (p. 44) or those who place Saint Stephen in the grave, (p. 46), and a person with the cask of the lost crown on p. 135. The only thing that makes them different is that they are represented in a foreshortened position (for example, bending forward), that is, in a particularly disadvantageous perspective.

The ceremonial character of the scenes is marked by nothing better than the fact that none of the frequently depicted clerics in the chronicle wears anything other than liturgical clothing; which order they belong to remains hidden. The only exception is Saint Louis of Toulouse who wears his episcopal cloak and mitre over his Franciscan frock. He has the crown, which he gave up, at his feet. This picture, summarizing his life and merits, is a pair to Simone Martini's Neapolitan altar panel of 1317.¹¹⁴

The characters of scenes are not personalities displaying their emotions without formalities or expressing their psyche. The language of gestures is their means of communication, which as visual sign language played a far more important role in the everyday life and ceremonial practice of the Middle Ages than it does today. In addition, the depicted gestures, not independent from the practice of the language of gestures, expressed a particular language system in the images. Unfortunately, by today that language has become partly forgotten and partly trivialized. What Panofsky described as the meaning of greeting someone by raising the hat is correct,¹¹⁵ but who wears a hat nowadays? In any case, they are special depictions that help us understand the language of gestures, like a dictionary of medieval gesture language. Perhaps the best example is the illustrations of the *Sachsenspiegel*.¹¹⁶

We do not see such specific messages expressed by gestures in the IC as in the legal code. Actions connected to ruling are frequent. At the heading of the title page (p. 1, Fig. 3) the king is in full ceremonial dress holding the regalia in his hands and he is sitting on the throne as if appearing as a ceremonial judge. With their naked swords and especially their gaze raised towards the king, his escorts manifest their readiness to execute the monarch's will. The first figure to his left is the only one who raises his right hand with the gesture of speech: he is giving counsel and his companions standing next to him seem to be cooperating in that by putting their heads together. The gesture of speech can be found in several places: with Solomon (p. 1) it is rather an order; a raised pointing finger with the dying Saint Stephen (p. 44); a whole series of speech ges-

¹¹⁴ GARDNER 1976. If the Neapolitan panel offended the interests of the Hungarian Angevin dynasty, since it depicted the renunciation of the crown to the benefit of Neapolitan King Robert, then this version can be interpreted as expressing the requirements of King Louis.

¹¹⁵ PANOFSKY 2009, 284–85.

¹¹⁶ AMIRA 1925, *Sachsenspiegel* 1976. For the depiction of gesture language and emotions see also SAURMA-JELTSCH 1994.

tures with various tones in the Várkony scene (p. 64). There is also an example of a silent shocked reaction in the dialogue between Solomon and Vid in the scene of the conflict between the king and the princes (p. 78). King Coloman, who had Álmos blinded, conducts a no less cruel dialogue with his men (p. 106). Saint Ladislav also gives an order to build the Várad cathedral with his extended pointing finger (p. 99) and King Coloman also orders his men to drag Álmos away (p. 106). Béla the Blind is helpless and Queen Ilona is hyperactive and gives her orders with two hands in the scene of the Arad massacre (p. 113, Fig. 22).

Depictions of homage and gift-bringing (among them the illuminations concerning benefactors' offerings), fealty and even military actions can be counted among the ceremonially regulated scenes, whether it is about a knightly battle (the Huns, p. 9, the battle of Ménfő, p. 50, the battle of Mogyoród, p. 85, the battle of Rozgony, p. 137) or a duel (p. 54). Archers represent types of figures recalling a special large circle of models (the battle of the Huns, p. 9, the Keán scene, p. 41, Saint Ladislav's fight, p. 72, Emperor Conrad, p. 119, the Basarab scenes pp. 143 and 146, Fig. 41). Coronations are the most important ceremonial scenes, which, in addition to the ceremonial enthronement, also have another version where the king has to bow his head in humiliation. This is done by King Coloman (p. 101), Géza II (p. 117), Ladislav III (p. 123) and also Stephen V (p. 127). There are also some extraordinary gestures that can usually be understood from the context, but they are often difficult to interpret, such as making peace with a handshake (Coloman and Álmos, p. 105); seeing a miracle with eyes raised to the sky (Attila, p. 16, the vision in Vác, p. 83); marveling with open arms (the cart miracle p. 101); passive standing with encumbered arms (Solomon, perhaps, deprived of the crown at Béla's coronation, p. 67, a spectator of Solomon's homage, p. 89, the witness to Saint Ladislav's coronation, p. 97); a friendly embrace (Géza and Ladislav, p. 87). The scene of Saint Stephen's victory against Keán belongs to those picture details with symbolic significance, where the blessed king treads on the pagan depicted with the signs of the oriental type and a bow (p. 41).¹¹⁷

The most important result of reviewing the illuminator's repertory is the impression that the large diversity of the illuminations in the IC is based on the variation of a small number of types.

The stage of the scenes

The vivid spatial arrangement of the pictures is the most noticeable feature of the decoration of the IC. This corresponded to the new demand for visual qualities on the part

¹¹⁷ SZIGETHI 1968, 201–202 relates the motif to Giovanni del Biondo's depictions and sees its origin in the *psalterium* illustrations. In the Utrecht Psalterium (fol. 91v); UTRECHT 1996, 74, Fig. 55. In the Chludov Psalter the triumph of Saint Peter over Simon Magus, Patriarch Nikephoros overcomes the iconoclast patriarch: GRABAR 1957, 199 and Fig. 152.

of educated people in the fourteenth century. Through the spatial composition figures, adjusted to the text with their costumes and gestures, become participants of a well perceptible stage spectacle. It is an art historical commonplace to say that this demand was a new phenomenon at the time. There were several ways of meeting it. One was the enrichment of the images with details based on new observations. Such are, for example, the elements regarding the location and various references to everyday life in the so-called *Krumlov Picture Codex*—an exact contemporary of the IC—aiming at an even better perception of the Biblical stories.¹¹⁸

Another way of satisfying the same demand can be seen in the earlier *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* with no less pictorial richness.¹¹⁹ The contrast between the drawing in ink arranged in bands and the spectacle of figures among the landscape elements and architectural signs in the framed pictures mark a fundamental difference in the intention of representation. The architectural forms in the *Legendary* belong to the type which Gerhard Schmidt called “conglomerate architecture.” As their main carrier he named “the model material of the Bolognese codices, which are present everywhere” including those codices attributed by him to wandering teams employed in Hungary.¹²⁰ The *Nekcsei Bible*’s Last Judgement (Fig. 27) belongs to the inventory of compositional procedures of the “1328 master,” in several aspects: its architecture suggests the *Viaticum* illumination of the Cesena *Infortiatum* codex (Fig. 34),¹²¹ There a block of construction opening in a V-shape forms a stage for the compact figures, which is also characterized by a tower reaching out from the illumination itself (its parallels can also be found in the IC). A similar composition designed with buildings in perspective and furniture blocks is the dedication scene of the Parisian *Decretales*



Fig. 34. Viaticum. Infortiatum-codex, Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana Ms. S. IV. 1

¹¹⁸ JENNI 1998. For dating the codex and the old, eleventh–twelfth-century origin of the illustrative type connected to the Velislav Bible, see SCHMIDT 1969, 170.

¹¹⁹ With reference to the depiction of weather phenomena, JENNI 1998, 26 and Fig. 139 quotes the cloud miracle scene of Petrus Martyr in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

¹²⁰ SCHMIDT 1995, 32–33. Cf. GIBBS 1992/b, especially notes 5 and 28. Cf. GIBBS 1992/a, 76. Concerning Harssen’s criticism and—probably unnecessarily—raising the question sharply whether the Bologna connection is more direct in the Bohemian or the Hungarian group, *ibid.* note 56. See also GIBBS 1994, 220–1.

¹²¹ PIRANI 1966, Fig. 6. Cf. CONTI 1981, 85–6.



Fig. 35. Seal of Jeanne de Boulogne, first wife of King John (the Fair) II of France, 1356, Paris, Archives Nationales, 166.



Fig. 36. The Madonna-panel from Glatz, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie



Fig. 37. King David, *Breviarium Benedictinum*, 1342, Benedictine Monastery Rajhrad, cod. R 394, fol. 1r.

codex (BN Ms.lat. 3988) from the end of the fourteenth century.¹²² It may well be directly compared with the *maiestas* image on the title page of the IC. However, it is most instructive to compare this with the opening illumination (Fig. 28) of the *Matricola dei merciai* of Bologna from 1328 (Bologna, Museo Civico, N. 85), which lent the name to the master. Although there are no architectural elements in the picture, only the Madonna's throne and the back rest covered with drapery and the blue background used as drapery create a spatial division for the statuesque figures lined up in that space and the angels and trees reaching out over them. A similar role of the

plasticity of figures can be observed in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The relationship of the pictorial space and the figures is completely different in the IC: there they appear populating the space and moving in it; not crowded in, leaving narrow gaps.

¹²² PIRANI 1966, Fig. 10.



Fig. 38. The Holy Trinity, Wrocław, Museum Śląskie



Fig. 39. *Cathedra Petri*, Lectionary from Vyšehrad, Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 265, vol. II, fol. 260r

The canopied throne of Louis the Great at the heading of the title page in the IC is an example of this concept of space (Fig. 3). Its decoration, especially its Cosmatesque inlays alternately in red, blue and gold, obviously reflects the influence of Italian small architectural compositions in marble. Its poor condition, partly because of lost paint, reveals the careful perspective design of the underdrawing. On the whole it belongs to the Giottesque spatial inventions (actually on the standard of style of the *Maestro di Santa Cecilia*) whose spreading beyond the original context can be characterized as the “deconstructivist” tendency in the Central European reception of Giotto in the fourteenth century.¹²³

The throne of Louis the Great only seems to be a structure in the Italian manner. Its twisted little columns supporting a canopy and the sectioning of the arches reminiscent of abutments echo rather Gothic architectural forms beyond Italy (Fig. 35). The Glatz Madonna panel (1342), a northern relative of the Italian *Maestà*-Madonnas, is its most elegant affine (Fig. 36).¹²⁴ Not much older than that similar throne architectures can be seen in the Rajhrad breviary’s depiction of King David (Fig. 37), the Wrocław *Gnadenstuhl* (Fig. 38) and the *Cathedra Petri* miniature of the somewhat later Vorau lectionary (c. 1360, Fig. 39).¹²⁵ The *Gnadenstuhl* picture of Holy Trinity Sunday in the

¹²³ On the “throne formula” see SCHMIDT 1995, 30–2.

¹²⁴ For early dating (1344–50) see SCHMIDT 1969, 175–6.; for around dating to 1343, see SUCKALE 1994, and SCHMIDT 1969, 749 about the Madonna illumination decorating the legal codex of around 1330, which he regards as the lost joint model for the Madonna of Glatz and the Prague Saint Vitus Madonna panel.

¹²⁵ SCHMIDT 1969, figs. 89, 140, 141, in summary: SCHMIDT 1995, 31–2.

Istanbul Antiphonary is related to these scenes, and is in turn related iconographically to the Wrocław panel. However, it lacks the latter's spatial architecture populated with angels and it replaces the extensity with a box-like space compiled from the colored plates of the framing. Without the Giottesque formulas of space it fits nicely into the Central European stylistic environment. It seems to be far from the immediate artistic environment of the IC and thus there is no ground to connect them with each other. Neither is there for the inclusion of the Istanbul manuscript into the circle of the royal court.¹²⁶

The unique writing recess (p. 2) of the "master of histories," enclosed in a prismatic cubicle depicted from a corner perspective, also belongs to the category of architectural forms providing space for the figures' actions depicted with the means of orthogonal perspective. In other pictures, architecture depicted in perspective serves to separate the "interior" and the "exterior" separating the main scene from the episode (scene at Várkony, p. 64, dragging Álmos away, p. 66); the same *interieur* type appears in the Felician Záh attack (p. 141). Certain formulas of Trecento painting are fitted into the Central European environment and correspond to the demand for rich visual perspectives, which was widespread among the educated of the fourteenth century, especially the intellectual elite who studied at Italian universities. Shortened faces occurring in the IC only in defined iconographical functions (otherwise they always depict commoners in relation to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection) originate from the same source, the Giotto inventions, popularized through the medium of model books.¹²⁷ The unfortunately badly damaged figure of the victorious knight at the duel at Constantinople is the most beautiful example (p. 36).

The scenes populated by a crowd of figures in a landscape represent the most ambitious and significant pictures in the IC, especially the two-column-wide compositions at the beginning of the codex. They actually correspond to small-sized panels; their framework, which is sometimes enriched with decoration, or represented by a wider framing ribbon (later on it is absent) or by a narrow color band, emphasizes this. The compositional scheme of these illuminations is the varied landscape divided by mountains and valleys, dotted with trees like leaf bunches, by rocks mostly diagonally sloping from right to left. Their stages provide the space for the movements and actions of the groups of figures. The action is conducted in these narrow corridors and channels of space, and on the widening spatial stages of the foreground. This way of presentation stands in absolute contrast with the contemporary and traditional scheme of mass scenes—usually knightly battles—where emphasis is laid on the nearly inextricable tangle of the fighting crowd. From among the many examples, also due to its close date (1370–75), a comparison is offered by the Wolfenbüttel Willehalm manuscript of

¹²⁶ *Kódexek* 1985, Cat. No. 64, 106 f. For a more detailed evaluation, see VIZKELETY-WEHLI 1989, especially 101 and 106 ff. with partly contradicting presumptions.

¹²⁷ For the shortening head and Italian model of the Kaufmann Crucifixion, see SCHMIDT 1995, 29–30.

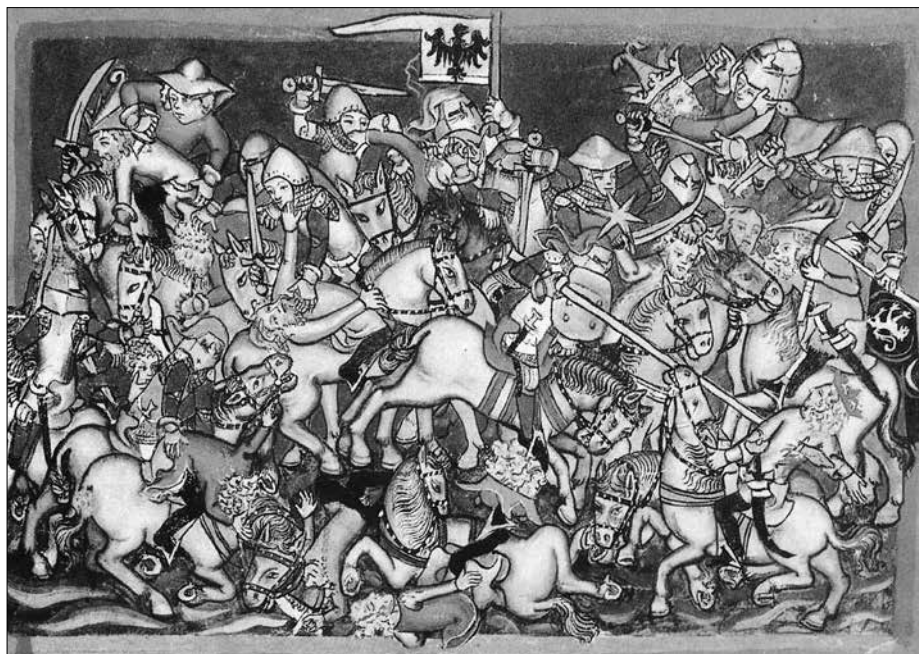


Fig. 40. Willehalm-manuscript, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek., Cod. Guelf. 30.12 Aug. 2°

southern German origin (Herzog August-Bibliothek., cod. Aug. 30. 12. 2°). The comparison is instructive not only because the mass and cruel battle scene of the Wolfenbüttel Willehalm (fol. 10r, Fig. 40) concentrating on horror is as much in contrast with the IC's related themes as the fact that, while in the former the scene is conceived as an inextricable tangle filling the space of the picture, the illuminations in the IC have a more airy and spatial arrangement.¹²⁸ Perhaps the two Basarab illuminations (Fig. 41) closest to the tone of this ruthless presentation, which Gerhard Schmidt detected in the Wenceslas Bible—referring to a lost Wrocław missal made around 1370—and called it a “hollow-way landscape” (Fig. 42), which is also frequent in the IC.¹²⁹ The stylistic difference between the lost Wrocław manuscript and the later Wenceslas Bible can be compared to the relationship of the IC to the Wenceslas Bible, also characteristic for formulas of town views.

Even though the references are more to the types of figures and compositional details and concern mainly the fourteenth-century Catalan parts of the Paris Psalter (B.N. ms.lat. 8846), the older art historical concept, which suggested that the com-

¹²⁸ SCHMIDT 1998, 181 and Fig. 49.

¹²⁹ SCHMIDT 1998, 182.



Fig. 41. Defeat of the army of King Charles I in the war against Basarab

► a) IC, p. 143

▼ b) IC, p. 148

◄ Fig. 42. The entry with the Ark of the Covenant in Jerusalem, Venceslas-Bible, II, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Vindob. 2760, fol. 81r

positional models for the IC's mass scenes in landscape must be found in Psalter illustrations, seems to be correct and justified.¹³⁰ This thread, which is also obvious in the scenes of sieges, connects the concept of space in the IC to Antique traditions mediated by Carolingian models.¹³¹

The position of the rocky stylized landscapes is another issue in terms of how space and nature were viewed in the fourteenth century. At the time of the IC a modern view of landscape was already created, which conveyed the image of space (though not yet of atmosphere) providing scope for existence surrounded by terrain and buildings from a bird's-eye view. Simone Martini's Guidoriccio fresco was already on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena; so was Ambrogio Lorenzetti's aforementioned *Good and Bad Government*, and Simone Martini's Saint George fresco decorated the exterior of the Notre Dame des Doms in Avignon. However, their airy spatial structure was as yet as alien to the illuminator of the IC as the scenography of Giotto's late paintings, such as those of the Navicella in Rome. When designing the scenes our illuminator obviously had the concept of space as a form and mass continuum. Giotto used for the last time this compositional principle on the frescoes of the Scrovegni chapel in Padua. However, there it involves a much more sovereign way in contrast to the earlier principal spatial continuity.

Direct precedents of the landscape formulae applied by the illuminator of the IC (figs 43, 44) can, however, be traced to the early Giotto. The scene of the Spring Miracle of the Saint Francis cycle in the upper church of San Francesco in Assisi (Fig. 45), which depicts a rocky landscape decorated with little trees like bunches of leaves; a line of rocks from the peak on the right sloping to the left, and the rock platform formed in the front providing a type of base for the praying Saint Francis with a half cut off donkey led there by the monks in the foreground, is a forerunner of several compositions in the IC. Its description could more or less fit, for example, the pictures of Koppány's decapitation (p. 38) and Saint Ladislav's battle with the Cumans (p. 72). Large mass scenes are expanded versions of the same scheme. Their relatives can be also found in Giotto's circle, on the early Stigmatization panel in the Louvre. This composition is echoed by the frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi in the Santa Croce Baroncelli chapel, like the Annunciation to Joachim on the side wall (Fig. 46), and also as a rather modern *notturno* atmosphere picture in the Annunciation to the Shepherds on the main wall (Fig. 47). Extending the Giottesque landscape to a wider and horizontal format (which in contrast with attributing it to Traini, as is traditional, undoubtedly supports its attribution to Buffalmacco),¹³² characterizes the fresco of the *Triumph of Death* in Pisa (Fig. 48). The rock range sepa-

¹³⁰ SZIGETHI 1968, 189–196. For the position of the Paris Psalterium cf. UTRECHT 1996, Cat. No. 30., 240.

¹³¹ The tradition of the Pentateuch illustrations of late Antiquity can also be included here, which was maintained by the S. Paolo fuori le mura Carolingian Bible illustrations.

¹³² BELLOSI 1974, especially 98; cf. MEISS 1933.



Fig. 43. Entering of different nations, IC, p. 32



Fig. 44. The Conquest of Hungary, IC, p. 21.



▲ Fig. 45. Miracle of the Spring, Assisi, S. Francesco Upper Church, St. Francis-cycle, fresco, 1290s



▼ Fig. 46. Taddeo Gaddi: Annunciation to Joachim, fresco, Florence, Sta Croce Baroncelli-Chapel, soon after 1328.



► Fig. 47. Taddeo Gaddi: Annunciation to the shepherds, fresco, Florence, Sta Croce Baroncelli-Chapel, soon after 1328.



Fig. 48. Pisa, Camposanto, The Triumph of the Death, detail



Fig. 49. *Nix et glacies*, *Tacuinum sanitatis*, Lombardy, end of the fourteenth century, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 4182, fol. 174

rates the place of Thebais's reclusion from the shocking episode of the Three Living and Three Dead in such a way as the various groups are in the *ingressus* pictures of the IC. It is a question whether Taddeo Gaddi's participation is accidental in maintaining the tradition which his son Agnolo's pupil, Cennino Cennini described as the heritage of Giotto's landscape painting, "take a big stone..."¹³³ The blank and rocky Alpine landscape of *Nix et glacies* (Fig. 49) in the Milanese codex of the *Tacuinum sanitatis* can be perceived as an illustration to this method. It is not independent from Cennini working in the

¹³³ CENNINI 1971, cap. LXXXVIII, 97.



Fig. 50. *Noli me tangere*, fresco, Naples, San Domenico Maggiore, Brancaccio-Chapel

environment of the Carrara court in Padua and of the Paduan natural science studies with their nominalist attitude.¹³⁴ Ghiberti applied this type of composition on his relief of Abraham's sacrifice on the design competition for the bronze door of the Florentine Battistero in 1401. Staying with Padua, the Giottesque concept of the landscapes in the IC recalls the words of Petrarch about Giotto's Madonna, whose "beauty is not within the compass of the ignorant, but the masters of art are astounded by its sight."¹³⁵

The Assisi landscape must have been a part of the young Giotto's Roman heritage. The precedents of the motifs in the Assisi cycle can be discovered primarily in Pietro Cavallini's scenes of the Birth of Jesus and the Adoration of the Magi (not depicted with the help of architectural scenery) in the apse mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere. More can be seen in the Neapolitan works of Cavallini and his circle, which represent real parallels with the early Giotto style, while the elements of the Cavallini tradition and the Giottesque influences become practically inseparable with the followers. The frescos (*Noli me tangere* - Fig. 50, The Miraculous Catch) in the Brancaccio chapel of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples are examples for the former.¹³⁶ The Giottesque view of landscape plays a great role in some of the compositions of the master of the Cappella Barrile in San Lorenzo (the Birth of Jesus, part of the landscape in the Adoration of the

¹³⁴ STEINGRÄBER 1985, 58–65.

¹³⁵ WILKINS 1961.

¹³⁶ BOLOGNA 1969, 115 ff., DEGENHART SCHMITT 1973, 98.

Magi).¹³⁷ The *Landnahme* composition in the IC is closely related to the picture depicting the story of Moses in Matteo Planisio's Bible (1362, BAV Cod.Vat. lat. 3550).¹³⁸

Another type of landscape composition in the IC, which can be traced back to an Antique origin, is rooted in the same tradition: the formula of a town or fortress on top of a hill. This is an often-used pictorial formula. Simone Martini also turned to a similar model when signifying the military locations in the environs of Siena in the mounted portrait of Guidorriccio da Fogliano. These castles, palaces and fortified towns appear everywhere as symbols utilized since antiquity not only in landscapes but also in cartography without having to look for traces of concrete topographical references. Sets of buildings with towered and crenellated walls, and gates with towers like on urban coats of arms represent towns. Such are "Aquileia" (p. 44), "Venice" (p. 45), "Constantinople" (p. 36), "Pressburg/Pozsony" (pp. 67 and 91), "Belgrade" (p. 74), "Cracow" (p. 98) and "Košice/Kassa" (p. 137). They are usually depicted from a low viewpoint and only rarely from a bird's eye view such as for Aquileia (p. 44). This is again a feature that separates the forms of Italian origin in the IC from the town depictions in the Czech Wenceslav manuscripts.¹³⁹ It is questionable how much of the roofs popping up behind town walls, fantastic residential towers, or sometimes churches corresponded to everyday (and especially Hungarian) reality; they are mainly formulae. They appear primarily as props to the illustrated texts just like architectural components are to other landscapes. The scene of the entry of the Huns (p. 7) is a landscape full of castles similarly to the "second entry" of the Hungarians (p. 21, Fig. 44). The type with a high inside tower and surrounded by crenellated walls is prevalent among these castles, thus corresponding to the dominant castle type of the age. When the text says that Emperor Conrad extracted money even from monasteries, the illumination (p. 119) depicts a fortified church with two towers, and the flagellants march through a whole landscape of churches (p. 128). These churches are extended with an apse, have towers and, sometimes, Gothic-type buttresses, representing architectural models (Old Buda, p. 42; Várad/Oradea, p. 99; Lippa/Lipova, p. 140; Dömös, p. 105 and with the combined outside and inside picture on p. 106). Although the illuminator obviously ranked churches with one, two and even four towers (Székesfehérvár, pp. 69 and 141; Oradea, p. 101) he was not very consistent, thus hardly supporting the hopes expressed in early Hungarian art history writings, based on the presumption that these pictures could be used for reconstructing medieval buildings.

¹³⁷ BOLOGNA 1969, 193.

¹³⁸ BOLOGNA 1969, Fig. VI-67/84. For the connections and dating the Neapolitan Bibles, BOLOGNA 1969, 278 ff.; SCHMITT 1970, 482 ff.

¹³⁹ SCHMIDT 1998, 182–83.



Fig. 51. Birth of Saint Stephen, IC, p. 37

The attractive *intérieur* of the illumination depicting the birth of Saint Stephen (p. 37, Fig. 51) is further evidence of the Cavallini tradition, which, besides the Giottesque elements, played an important role in the IC. This illumination excels from others, not only by the quality of composition and its legendary subject (such can only be seen among the Saint Ladislás illustrations), but also in that it augments the text, since here the chronicler refers the reader twice to the legends.¹⁴⁰ It is actually the illustration of Bishop Hartvic's *Life of Saint Stephen*, the only one that mentions Sarolt's vision. The crown handed to Stephen by the Protomartyr Saint Stephen demonstrates the etymological commentary expounded already in the *Legenda Maior* about the predestination in the name Stephanus. Neither of this is mentioned in the text of the IC. In addition, there are several other crowns in

the scene. Sarolt and a lady behind her have crowns on their heads, as do some figures among the group waiting in the antechamber. They do not feature in the legend; the birth and the vision are rather borrowed from ceremonial birth scenes of Italian *desco da parto* images with the great event inside and the people of the court in the foreground. The architecture is phrased according to this hierarchy, the delivery room being depicted higher and more spaciouly with canopy architecture and a red-golden curtain (with a view into a chamber with a coffered wooden ceiling), while the darker and vaulted antechamber is lower. They are also separated by the brilliant grayish coloring, but even more so by juxtaposing two kinds of perspective. The birth of Saint Stephen illumination and especially its architecture used to be regarded as reflecting connections to Siena. It actually represents the Cavallini tradition (cf. Filippo Rusuti's

¹⁴⁰ Simon of Kéza has no source reference (or literary indication), but such can be found in both the IC and the codices belonging to the group of the Buda Chronicle: it must come from the chronicler of the beginning of the fourteenth century; *SRHI*. 312.



Fig. 52. Filippo Rusuti: The dream of Pope Liberius, detail of mosaic, facade of the Church S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (author's photo)

mosaics on the facade of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, which also partly depicts vision scenes; Fig. 52).

The scene is almost a prime example of the illuminator's attempts at spatial composition. Despite all confusion and contradiction, he seems to aim at placing the figures unequivocally on a ground plan of spaces. The illuminations of the IC more or less fulfill the aspirations to visual representations characteristic of the *ars nova* of the fourteenth century. The afterlife of these compositions can also be shown: the impact of the *ingressus* illuminations of the IC can be nicely seen in the woodcuts of the Thuróczi Chronicle. In the Brno edition, the woodcut of the seven chieftains (Fig. 53) contains components of the *Landnahme* illumination of the IC (p. 21, Fig. 44). The fifteenth-century woodcutter left out several parts but kept the group



Fig. 53. The seven dukes of the Hungarians, wood engraving, Thuróczi-Chronicle, Brno 1486, fol. 1v



Fig. 54. The Entry of the Tartars, Thuróczi-Chronicle, Augsburg 1486

of the seven mounted chieftains and enriched it with flags. In front of them, he also employed in a modified form the group of women and peasants driving their animals. The illustration of the Mongol invasion in the Augsburg edition (Fig. 54) relates back to the woodcuts of the Brno one. The former, however, also has something from the fourteenth-century model illumination—a more airy arrangement of the hilly landscape—while the foreground is given in an almost flat perspective. The greatest change in both illustrations is the use of the Turks' clothing as a historical costume.¹⁴¹ The late Gothic versions do not follow the spatial qualities of the originals, calling the attention to its qualities.

The portrait

In principle, we can expect just as little physiognomic faithfulness from portraits in the IC as from the documentary depiction of events, including the topographical identity of locations. However, if we accepted that a portrait, in the broadest sense of the term, is an image by which the artist intends to depict an identifiable person we can discuss the IC's illustrations in this sense as well. The paradox is that although the intention of portraiture can be disputed looking at them individually, there is no question about them making up a series of portraits. The portrait character of an image is a functional issue,

¹⁴¹ HUBAY 1962, 390, presumed drawing models from Buda for the Thuróczi illustrations; cf. MAROSI 1995, 63–64.

rather than one of quality. The task of identification in the genealogically structured portrait cycles is left entirely to the title or the connection to the text.

Individual features resulting from the context have a secondary role. A typical example is that of Ladislás III (II according to the IC's count) who should have been depicted as an infant. However, in the illumination of his coronation his standing figure is that of an adult, albeit a youthful one (p. 123). It is obvious that the type of ideal portrait serving as the basis for royal representation excluded the portrayal of a king as an infant.

In other cases there was more opportunity to attune the primary (king) and secondary (individual) identification. Thus King Coloman appears almost always as implied in the text of the chronicle, with unsympathetic features and with a cartoon-like emphasis of his humpback (pp. 101, 105 and 106).¹⁴² Ladislás the Cuman is throughout identified by a Cuman dress—kaftan and pointed headgear combined with the crown (pp. 128, 129). It is more difficult to explain why Stephen V is depicted with a rather large pot-belly in the illumination on p. 127, though the painter may have been better informed than the text at this point: it shows Stephen's ducal coronation by his father in the queen's presence. Since he lived at the end of the age of the Árpád dynasty and was among those who were important for the Angevins it is possible that some of his features, such as his portliness, were not yet forgotten eighty-six years after his death.

In a peculiar way, reflecting the most modern aspirations of the fourteenth century, the portrait character of images of emperors recognizable as portraits represent the primary, physiognomic and not the secondary, typological identification system. These portraits as depictions of emperors bear the identifiable features of Charles IV (Fig. 9a): Henry III (p. 53, Fig. 9), Henry IV (p. 89, Fig. 10) and Conrad III (p. 119). The portraits of Charles IV can be identified especially by examples from the 1370s. There are fewer from the 1350s, the time nearer to the IC.¹⁴³

Thus, the first examples of fourteenth-century Central European portraiture seem to have already influenced the decoration of the IC by the intention of physiognomic representation. Primary attention should be given to the portrait of Louis the Great on the title page, though unfortunately the face is one of the most damaged parts of the picture. Actually, this face is the largest of all in the IC. While their majority, including well-detailed and richly modeled depictions, are hardly larger than a child's fingernail, the face of Louis the Great is as big as the nail of an adult's thumb.

There is no way to decide whether the portrait is faithful or not. We do not know of any justifiably probable portrait of King Louis the Great in the IC. However, other portraits of Louis, among them the one in the form of *King Ramiro* (or per-

¹⁴² BERKOVITS 1953.

¹⁴³ PEŠÍNA 1955; WAMMETSBERGER 1967; HERZOGENBERG 1978. For 1356 as a "magic date" in the history of the new portrait style see BIEDERMANN 1979, especially 10.

haps Charlemagne) painted by Altichiero in the San Felice chapel of Sant'Antonio in Padua, presuppose that the intention regarded as modern at that time could have been present.¹⁴⁴ The most important lesson of the Louis the Great portrait in Padua does not concern knowing the facial features of the king but the fact that he was seen as a monarch similar to Charlemagne, not only in pictorial depiction but also in textual description, in Padua in the surroundings of the Carrara court. According to the 1368 introduction to the *Cronaca Carrarese*, "King Louis of Hungary... was the mightiest monarch in the world among Christians and the king most feared by the infidels, arguably since the death of Emperor Charlemagne."¹⁴⁵ Louis the Great, an ally in defense against Venice, embodied the ideal of a ruler in Padua. This assessment corresponds to the state-theory consciousness represented in the illustration of the IC.¹⁴⁶

However, the fragment on the heading of the title page mainly consisting of the underdrawing allows us to suppose that there was an exceptionally strong intention at individualization. From the eyes up, the surviving painted fragment bears witness to an effort to create an especially sharp image, and the face, of a darker base coloring than usual, manifests strong modeling. Intensive shadowing and especially the highlights expressed with white brushstrokes provide an almost relief-like effect to this detail. The furrows in the brow emphasize the dignified, regal seriousness of the face (cf. Fig. 3). These are all elements which were widespread in the examples of early portraiture.¹⁴⁷

"The temptation of the portrait," with Roland Recht's expression, was an important tendency all over Europe from around 1320–30.¹⁴⁸ Written sources regarding this phenomenon are rather rich in Hungary as well. The report about Charles Robert's funeral, which stands out in this respect, is in this line. It originates from the time when the IC was illuminated, and the text is related to its continuation by the Anonymous Minorite.¹⁴⁹ This text is the key for the evaluation of the early portrait, although the *effigies* represents the effigy-knights standing for the king during the funeral service. Thus it is not the physiognomic similarity alone but the essence visibly appearing in it, the spectacle of sublimity, that makes a portrait.

¹⁴⁴ DERCSÉNYI 1940, PLANT 1981, 406–25.

¹⁴⁵ *Il re Lodovico d'Ongheria ... fu il più potente principe del mondo fra Christiani e il più temuto re da infedeli che fosse o che sia stato dopo la morte di Carlomagno imperadore.* cit. PLANT 1981, 414.

¹⁴⁶ According to Conversino da Ravenna "Louis, the King of Huns resurrected, reconstituted and enriched a torn, inhumane and lawless country without morale and fear of the Lord, and restored it in discipline and according to the law of rational life." (*Ludovicus rex Hunnorum regnum discissum, inhumanum, sine lege, sine more cultuque divino, erexit, composuit, ampliavit, ... subque disciplina ac lege vite rationalis reformavit.*) quoted by PLANT 1981, 424.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. RONIG 1978, III, 211–14.

¹⁴⁸ RECHT 1986.

¹⁴⁹ MÁLYUSZ 1967, 65–66.; cf. KRISTÓ 1967, 487 ff., KURCZ 1964, 367 ff. argues for János Kétyi as author.

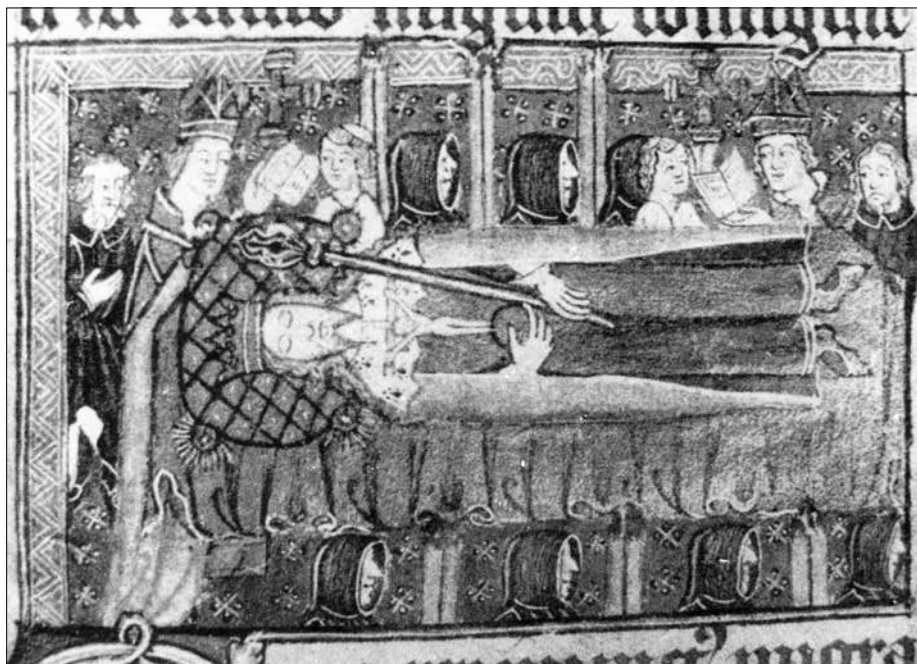


Fig. 55. Burial of a king of England, *De Exequiis regalibus* (1364?), *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonstariensis*, (after GIESEY 1960)

The public showing of a monarch's corpse is a component here, and obviously plays a role in identification. The author of the report pays great attention to the correct burial ceremony:

... not like some other, long-dead kings who are said to be blessed in memory by the creditable authority of other written works, that is not with a covered face and a body guarded in secret for some days—because in certain cases on the death of some kings this incorrect custom prevailed—but openly, in everyone's presence, and publicly, for all to see.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ THURÓCZY 1985, 157 [my translation]. The older burial traditions were *abusiva consuetudo*, because kings were laid out with the face covered *velata facie*. This must have last been the practice at the funeral of Andrew III. Charles Robert was correctly taken to Székesfehérvár in 1301: *omnibus praesentibus, facie ad faciem manifeste cernentibus*. Cf. MAROSI 1995, 47–48.

It is not by chance that the burial and tomb represent the core of the portrait issue in Hungary, just as they do abroad.¹⁵¹ The royal funeral images in the IC are different from their assumed compositional models, the burial scenes of Biblical illustrations, mostly in that the face is nowhere covered, unlike the depictions of corpses covered in shrouds.¹⁵² Thus a correspondence can be supposed between the practice of illustration in the IC and the ceremonies of royal representation (of those, however, only the representations of burial traditions in Western Europe are known, Fig. 55).

A FINAL NOTE ON THE PAINTER

Surely, we have to do not with a single painter but rather with a certain number of painters, working in a workshop. It is a commonplace of art historical stylistic criticism to depart from the hypothesis that the workshop's head was the most talented and experienced among them. The physical evidence is not enough to answer this question and not even to distinguish among the "hands" of the collaborators. Therefore, "the" illuminator of IC must be understood as a common name for several individuals. The workshop should be imagined as a corner of a *scriptorium*, located near to the office of a learned person from the royal chancery or chapel. The circumstances of editing the text and of the production of a copy and of its illustration process are witnesses of this. All this could have been located in Visegrád, at the royal residence of the time or in the royal provosty of Székesfehérvár—both having learned people as well as writing workshops.

The illuminator of the IC had to meet various requirements, some which his superiors and the directors of his work told him and some which rather represented the expectations of the viewers. The visualization of these—according to my hypothesis, almost unprecedented—demanded a wide experience of the painter, the knowledge of a number of models and representational formulas as well as a skill to adapt and vary them. He found—partly perhaps in some kind of a model book—different exemplary solutions borrowed from different sources of both international courtly origin and of Central European examples. He then transformed and amalgamated these models seen by or shown to him according to his fundamentally Italian style, acquired during his studies.

Some of these models surely came from the practice of illustrating a chronicle. He could also have seen approaches suitable for following with regard to certain pictures, for example in illustrations of the story of Troy in other codices. In other cases he must have found a starting point in the taste prevalent in his environment. He has

¹⁵¹ RECHT 1986, 192 ff.; cf. ERLANDE-BRANDENBOURG 1975.

¹⁵² The problematic funeral scenes: Emeric, p. 44; Stephen, p. 46; Ladislav, p. 101; Ladislav IV, p. 129; Queen Mary, p. 139. Cf. SZIGETHI 1968, 183 f., Fig. 1 and 2. The *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, fourteenth century (1364?) is an excellent guide for the funeral illuminations of the Chronicle. The *De exequiis regalibus* illustration: GIESEY 1960, 82, and Fig. 7, cf. MAROSI 1995, Fig. 20.

presumably seen codices from Bolognese workshops of the first half of the fourteenth century brought back and used by clerks who had studied there or were produced in that style in Central European countries, including Hungary.

Around 1358, this illuminator did not belong to the pioneers of the *ars nova*, of Italy or Central Europe, as his style witnesses a rather conservative orientation. The simultaneous presence in the codex of Giottesque compositional elements also based on the Cavallini tradition agrees well with the illuminator's Neapolitan origin, which was presumed ever since the beginning of art historical discussions of the IC. The view according to which the illuminator's style is rooted in the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit* manuscript,¹⁵³ corresponds mostly to the present-day concept about the position of the IC. The illuminator began his career, similarly to Orimina, presumably already at the time of King Robert, and the campaigns of Louis the Great to Naples must have provided the opportunity for the Neapolitan painter to appear in the Hungarian court. From the same point of view, it is also important to consider that relations between Naples and Hungary were already settled in the 1350s at the time of the marriage and return of Johanna and Louis of Taranto.

Features attributable to the influence of the Maestro del Codice di San Giorgio belong to the basic layer of the illuminator's style. This Florentine painter, who was freed by his monographer, Ciardi Dupré, from his misunderstood position of Sienese epigone, has been recently described as the representative of the Florentine "miniaturist trend" and can be identified as a member of the Roman circle of Cavallini and as someone displaying Giottesque features. The master's connections to the Neapolitan Cavallini-circle can be only presumed, in addition to the rather well-known Rome-Avignon connections suggested by the Rome missal giving him his conventional name.¹⁵⁴

On the basis of his work and its artistic stylistic-elements, the painter of the IC can be regarded a master who had been studying in the 1330s, who by around 1358 had become a more mature and experienced painter, and to whom is due a special place in the art history of the fourteenth century as a result of his stylistic expression and skills.

¹⁵³ SCHMIDT 1995, 33.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. CIARDI DUPRÉ DAL POGGETTO 1981, 34–5, 55 ff.

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THE HERALDRY OF ANGEVIN-AGE HUNGARY AND ITS REFLECTION IN THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

György Rácz

It is traditional in Hungary to regard the Angevin age—that is also the age of the IC—as the flourishing of chivalresque culture and, concomitantly, as the “peak” of heraldry. The French origin of the dynasty suggested that the use of coats of arms be associated with the reign of Charles I of Anjou (1301–42). However, to decide the true role of the Anjou in the history of Hungarian heraldry, we have to go back at least a century before the Angevin claimant’s landing on Hungarian shores in 1300. In fact, coats of arms were used in Hungary at least since the turn of the twelfth to thirteenth century.

BEGINNINGS OF ROYAL HERALDRY

The first bearer of coats of arms in the kingdom of Hungary was the king. Until recently, it was believed that royal heraldry began under King Béla III (1172–96) with the earliest appearance of the double (“Lothringian”) cross. The basis of that was the assumption that a penny (*denarius*) with this sign (first without, later within a shield) was minted in the 1190s.¹ However, by strange coincidence, a historian-archaeologist and an art historian arrived, independently of each other (publishing their results in the same issue of a journal!) at the conclusion that this coin could not have originated earlier than the 1230s, under King Béla IV (1235–70), before the Mongol invasion of 1241.² It was also he, who used the double cross on his double seal and golden bull. True, the cross was known earlier—indeed in the times of Béla III—but not in heraldry: it was seen as a sign of victory based on the cross-reliquary that reached Hungary from Byzantium via the prince who grew up in Constantinople. The veneration of this relic, known since the 1170s, that found its way into heraldry only in the thirteenth century, left its mark on the heraldic representations as well. It has, been argued how-

¹ HÓMAN 1918–1921 and KUMOROVITZ 1941.

² KÖRMENDI 2011, 73–83; TAKÁCS 2011, 84–91—also as a chapter in TAKÁCS 2012, 39–48.

ever, that it is not necessary to assume a Byzantine model, since one of the signs of the kingdom of Hungary had been ever since the eleventh century the Latin (processional) cross, as visible on royal seals. That may have changed into the Lothringian cross in order to distinguish it from the sign of the Crusaders.³ Then, ever since King Stephen V's reign (1270–72) the lower arm of the cross was augmented by a *corona spinea*. This may have been connected with the Hungarian-Angevin contacts of those times, when the kings of Hungary established dynastic links not only with Naples but through them also to King Louis IX (1226–70), the keeper of the Crown of Thorns.⁴

In contrast, the other traditional escutcheon, a shield with the four bars is known from as early as the golden double seal of King Emerich/Imre (1196–1204) with three, two and one lions (leopards passant). From later images, the tint of the bars can be identified as red and silver (barry of eight gules et argent). It has been suggested that it was borrowed from Aragon and the lions were also seen to be of Spanish origin, but this is debatable.⁵ Since Imre's brother and successor, Andrew II (1205–35) also used this sign, it is not unlikely that they inherited it from their father, Béla III. The red and white colors were widely used in the decoration of the Esztergom royal palace from the age of Béla III and in the row of pearls on the so-called Holy Crown, in its present form usually dated to his time or earlier.⁶ It seems more than likely that the shield with the barry of eight was the older (twelfth century) design and the double cross appeared in the heraldry a century later.⁷

HERALDRY OF THE HUNGARIAN ANJOU

The golden lilies on blue (azure fleuretty semme-de-lis) with a red lambel (for the cadet line) was used by, Charles II “the lame” of Naples, grandson of St. Louis. He married Mary, daughter of King Stephen V and it was she, who first united the Hungarian and the Anjou coats of arms, usually next to each other (per pale). She claimed the Hungarian throne after 1292 and passed on her claim to her son Charles Martell who also displayed the combined shield. On the ceiling of the church of Donnaregina in Naples, commissioned by Mary (built 1293–1318) both coats of arms appear, both separately and combined. The prematurely deceased Charles Martell entered Florence in the company of two hundred knights displaying the lilies, bordered by bands of red and silver. Villani described them as “coll’arme a quartieri a gigli ad oro, e accerchiate rossi e d’argento cioè l’arme d’Ungheria.” His daughter, Queen Clementia of France, used both

³ TÓTH 2014.

⁴ KOVÁCS 1984, 407–23, TAKÁCS 2012, 72.

⁵ BERTÉNYI 2009, 189–97.

⁶ TÓTH 2014.

⁷ KÖRMENDI 2011, 82–83.

the French lilies and the Hungarian bars separately or united in one shield, for example on her seal pendant of 1317, and on several precious objects of hers.⁸

On his first seal of majesty, King Charles followed the style of the last Árpadians by having only the double cross cut onto its verso. The combined fleurs-de-lis and the bands (per pale) appear then on his second seal, cut in 1323—even four times, twice on both sides. Charles followed the Angevin-style use of the lambel on his middle seal and on his pennies; it appears on other objects as well, only to disappear with his death.⁹ More interesting is the change brought about by his son Louis I (1342–82). He changed the arrangement of the shield per pale by placing the Árpadian barry dexter and the Anjou-lilies sinister—in contrast to the usual sequence under his father. There were attempts at reading some message into this change, implying that Charles wished to underline heredity while Louis rather the election by the “nation.” However, this hypothesis does not hold water: there are examples of this arrangement earlier and the various seals of the queens (both Charles’s mother’s and his queen’s) show various positions of the bars and lilies. There is no reason to imply “constitutional” meanings to the change.¹⁰ The IC presents throughout the version of Louis’ times.

The crest, which we will encounter several times in the IC—an ostrich biting into a horseshoe—appears in various forms on the coins of Charles, and also as crests, with or without helmets already in the 1320s. Later it appears not only on coins but also on seals. After 1358, they feature on Louis’ signets, without shield or as a crest on full coats of arms and also on his secret seal used until the end of his life. Almost all members of the royal family used it, but its origin is not clear. Earlier it was assumed that it was a family sign of the Anjou, came from Naples or even from the French-Burgundian princely-royal house. Others suggested that it was an invention of Charles, who chose it after the defeat of the oligarchs, specifically for the tournament held at his marriage with Beatrix of Luxembourg. Szabolcs de Vajay believed that the valiant jousting king placed it on his tournament-helmet, celebrating his newlywed spouse in June 1318, with the—surely fanciful—symbology that “the ostrich devours the horseshoe as he did his enemies.”¹¹ However, the ostrich appears not only at tournaments but also in battle scenes of the IC, such the one of Rozgony/Rozhanovce in 1312 (p. 356) and the disaster in the campaign against Basarab (p. 370).

⁸ LÓVEI 1998, 24; MÉRINDOL 2004, 277–307; PINOTEAU 2009, 245–53; BERTÉNYI 2011, 44–54; BARTHA 2013, 181–93.

⁹ DL Nr. 1754, 2078, 1783, 2733. The seals are accessible through the: *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica*. Digital Archives of Medieval Hungary. Internet Edition (DL-DF 5.1), Edited by György Rácz, 2009, <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf>; <http://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/>. For its use, see: RÁ CZ 2010, 423–44. See also: GÁRDONYI 1907, 30–57, *Megpecsételt történelem* 2000, 38–43. For the label: HEGEDŰS 2000, 6–10, and BERTÉNYI 2011, 48–49.

¹⁰ For an overview of the issue, see BERTÉNYI 2010d, 282–84.

¹¹ VAJAY 1967, 8–9. VAJAY 1969, 282.

ROYAL COATS OF ARMS IN THE IC

As a result of many years of research by scholars of several disciplines, it is now clear that the IC was written and illuminated in the times of Louis I, in all likelihood, on the king's command. The cooperation of author and painter guaranteed that the IC reflected the artistic and intellectual milieu of the Angevin court. Since coats of arms usually identify the persons mentioned in the history for about a millennium, the images in the IC reflect the notions and usages of heraldry of the kingdom in the mid-fourteenth century. Because no professional armorial, compiled by a herald, has survived from medieval Hungary, the IC can serve as a "secondary" armorial.¹²

Already the title page contains much heraldic material. In the center of the top, the king is seated on a baldachined throne, wearing a tunic with the red and silver bars. The bottom of the page displays the king's arms: in the middle the double cross on a pedestal; right the Anjou-Hungarian shield, on the left a helmet with the ostrich crest. On the side of the page, in a lozenge, the ostrich appears by itself.

Even though the illuminator of the IC assigned coats of arms and banners to persons who had lived in times when these had not yet existed, he tried to follow the heraldic practices of his age and "(re)constructed" early coats of arms based on the text of the IC. The Hun ancestors fly a red flag with a black bird of prey (Simon of Kéza called it *turul*); a variant of this appears in silver on the red shield of Attila. The bars already appear in those times (eleventh-twelfth century) and recur frequently during the Árpáadian age before the actual use of coats of arms. The double cross as the sign of the Christian kingdom is associated with King Stephen. The young king is depicted as wearing—alone besides Louis—a tunic with the barry of eight and a red shield with the double cross on a triple mound. The triple mound appears first on the seals of Louis, his basic form is the popular Gothic clove-leaf. The double cross on the triple mound features seventeen times in the IC, except on the title page, where it stands on a simple hill.¹³

The anachronistic assignment of heraldry to the images of early medieval events—such as the German eagle on the flag for 1040—serves the purpose of identification of opponents and is thus significant. While the coats of arms for the Anjou—such as the combined shield and the ostrich—are throughout represented correctly, the heraldry in the images of earlier times is rather inconsistent. The double cross appears on the banners of Solomon and Andrew II and on one of the shields of St. Ladislás, but on the flag of Samuel Aba and the shield in another picture of St. Ladislás has the red-silver bars. In the part about the dynastic conflicts of the eleventh century, in one miniature King Solomon is flying a banner with the bars and Prince (St) Ladislás one with the double cross. The combination of these signs of the kingdom remained valid

¹² BERTÉNYI 2010b, 34–42.

¹³ KUMOROVITZ 1941, 22–32.

for the Anjou period as well. On the miniature of the Battle of Rozgony/ Rozhanovce, Charles is wearing a red tunic with the double cross, the ostrich crest on his helmet, and the combined lilies and bars shield in his hand. The IC reports that the king's flag bearer fell under the flag and indeed, he is depicted with the broken double cross-banner. The auxiliary forces appear under the Anjou-Hungarian flag (not, as the text has it, under that of the Hospitallers).

It is strange that in the IC the tint on the double cross or the barry of eight is not consistent; sometimes the silver is given as white, but frequently with some other (metallic?) paint, now a darkened grey. Remarkably, this is similar on the images in the armorial of the Dutch herold Gelre from after 1370. Here the escutcheon of the king of Hungary is quartered: in the first field are the combined Anjou-Hungarian lilies-and-bars; in the second a silver eagle on red (Poland); in the third a "silver" double cross on a green triple hill on red, and the fourth three crowned golden lion's heads (gules caboched or, facing dexter) on red for Dalmatia-Croatia.¹⁴ While the Polish eagle is painted white, the other charges intended to be silver seem to have been painted with some metallic tint here as well, now oxidized to grey. The crest is a crowned ostrich-head emerging from a crown on the top of a pot helm (heaume) with mantling, holding a horseshoe in its beak. Gelre presented a full coat of arms, escutcheon, helmet and crest, (Fig. 1) just as it appears on the precious objects given by the king to the Aachen treasury and to other churches.¹⁵



Fig. 1: The Anjou coat of arms in the Gelre armorial

¹⁴ See: Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 15652–56. Facsimile. Préf. par Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens. Leuven, 1992. Quoted by: KÖRMENDI 2013., 392–93.

¹⁵ MAROSI 1982, 59–60.

One of the last miniatures in the IC (the first battle scene in the Carpathians) points to another characteristic of Hungarian heraldry: the importance of the crest. The first surviving charter of a grant of arms, which is in fact a grant of a crest, hints at its appearance in the country's heraldry. Charles issued it on 7 April 1326 to a noble family in Co. Zala, ancestors of the Pogány of Cséb and Enyere. The beneficiary, together with his kinsmen and the whole kindred received, in return for his services, a crest, that is, a "címer" (*cristam, que vulgariter cymer dicitur*). The Hungarian word means today (apparently ever since the late fourteenth century) coat of arms in general. The clause of the charter orders that no other noble of the realm is allowed to wear a hawk of this kind as a crest and if "any of our predecessors, kings of Hungary, would have granted a hawk in any tint or appearance, that be herewith cancelled." This reference to previous grants raised doubts about the authenticity of the deed, but external criteria suggest that it is genuine.¹⁶ Another charter, granting a crest to Kolos of Néma in 1332, also warrants the meaning of *címer* as crest.¹⁷ The word—in French, *cimier*—may have reached Hungary from Poitou, in the course of the close diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Anjou in the late thirteenth century.¹⁸ In a third charter of Charles from 1327, Master Doncs *de genere* Balassa is granted that when he is confronted by the enemies of the king, he can wear his *armorum insignia atque cristam et vexillam* in gold.¹⁹ In Hungary *signum clipei* or *armorum insignia* usually refers to the shield and its charges, thus the crest and the flag are clearly distinguished from it.²⁰ This is not a traditional grant of arms, but merely a grant of tint. It is problematic insofar²¹ as we know the seal of Doncs, partly inherited from his uncle Demeter, a baron of the last Árpáadian king: it shows an empty shield cut diagonally by an arrow, surmounted by a pot helm with feathers, and two shields with the royal barry on either side (Demeter's seal had a barry of seven cut by an arrow.) Clearly, elements were borrowed or granted from the royal arms.²²

While, besides the ones from 1326 and 1332, no other early grant of a crest is known, there must have been, especially for those families where the crest is not repeating the charge of the escutcheon. Among them remarkable are crests with female figures, such as that of the Bebek (female surrounded by fishes), the female surrounded by two crescents of the moon of the Forgách, and that of the ancestors of the Újlaki family with a winged woman. This change of fashion is nicely seen on the seal of Voivod Tamás Szécsényi from 1339. In the center, a shield bent left has a pot helm at its right upper

¹⁶ Original: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Vas Megyei levéltára, DF 262464. CSOMA 1900, 1–6, and FEJÉRPATAKY 1901, 97–104. VAJAY 1969, 283; BERTÉNYI 2010c, 168.

¹⁷ DL 50503, MAJLÁTH 1887, 158.

¹⁸ BERTÉNYI–SZABICS 1974, 195–99.

¹⁹ ÁLDÁSY 1904, II, 3.

²⁰ BERTÉNYI 2010a, 29.

²¹ Summarised in BERTÉNYI 2010d, 269–73.

²² RÁCZ 1992, 131–32.

corner with an (old fashioned) crest of six peacock-feathers, but the chief of the shield has a crowned lion as a crest.²³

On the miniature of the IC on page 370 (f 72 b of the manuscript), depicting the disaster at Posada in the Basarabian campaign, the hero of the battle, Denis son of Desider, who had changed arms with the king, falling dead from his horse, is identified by the ostrich and horseshoe. Here the *armorum suorum insignia* clearly included the crest, widely visible in the *melée* by both friend and foe. No better proof is needed about the role of the crest in war. The king, with a double-cross shield, crowned, is seen to escape in company of, among others, the aforementioned Dancs, who is, however (wisely!), not sporting anything golden.²⁴

ARISTOCRATIC HERALDRY IN THE IC AND BEYOND

The IC emphasizes not only the dynastic genealogical legitimacy but also the genealogy of the major kindreds, above all of the aristocracy. The illuminator has done that by assigning coats of arms to the real or mythical ancestors of the leading families. However, he may have had little information for these; at any rate, he handled it less professionally than the heraldry of the court.

First of all, it is surprising that of the seven chieftains who assumedly led the Hungarians into Pannonia, only Árpád's shield displays a charge: a black bird of prey (*turul*) on silver. None of the other captains "from Scythia" have coats of arms, although two of them display a shield, the shield of two others is not visible and two have no shield at all. This suggests that the illuminator here set aside his heraldic knowledge: he painted even the shield of the captain Szabolcs—whom the IC identifies as the ancestor of the famous Csák kindred whose coat of arms with a lion was well known in his time—without a charge.²⁵ On the subsequent two pages, where the foreign *advena* kindreds are listed, the illuminator was more busy. In the ten chapters about ten true or fictive ancestors of Hungarian kindreds, each of them has an inhabited initial. Only the shield of the fictive Deodatus of San Severino²⁶—presumed ancestor of the non-existent Tata kindred—is turned away from the beholder. He similarly avoided to grant a charge to the shield and banner of Vecellin, the leader of the fight against Koppány, for he knew not enough about the heraldry of his descendants.²⁷ Less understandable are the empty shields of the Spanish counts Simon and Michael, and of the German ancestor of the Gutkeled kindred, since the descendants

²³ RÁCZ 1995, 5–17, VAJAY 1969. The seal of Széchenyi is on DL 3209.

²⁴ BERTÉNYI 2010d, 273.

²⁵ CSOMA 1904, 1203–1205

²⁶ MÁLYUSZ 1988 II/1., 174–75.

²⁷ His successors were not important in the fourteenth century: MÁLYUSZ 1988, II/1, 181–82.

of the former were important office-holders in the Angevin court and one of those of the latter was a powerful Judge Royal in the fourteenth century.²⁸ Moreover, the text contains the information of Master Ákos and Simon of Kéza about the two Spanish brothers' alleged right to bear an eagle on their coat of arms, not reflected in the image.²⁹ The seven others all have charges on their shield, even if only two of them are authentic. There seem to have been some mix-ups as well. The shield and flag of Poth displays a bird (eagle?) that should perhaps have been in Simon and Michael's; he counted as the ancestor of the Győr kindred, who bore a shield with lilies.³⁰ Similarly, the Héder clan is granted—instead of the well-known three silver columns on red (gules paly of three argent)—a gold star and half-moon on silver, actually the charge of the Hont-Pázmány kindred's coat of arms. This mistake was augmented by another: the editor or illuminator decided, based on his imagination and knowledge of German, to devise a shield and flag for Hont: a silver dog's head on red—deriving Hont from *Hund*.³¹ Wrong is also the charge of the Buzád (or Hahót) kindred. Other sources speak of a horned ox-head as their charge, while the IC has a horn growing from a forehead that looks more like that of a goat or a chamois. One may speculate that the illuminator was told about the coats of arms verbally and either misunderstood or was careless in following the information. Two coats of arms are depicted correctly. The shield of the ancestors of the Rátót clan, the brothers Oliver and Ratold, the golden linden-leaf is even differentiated between the two of them: one in silver, another in red. The other authentic one is that of the Hermány kindred: their golden dragon could not be mistaken, as their descendants, the Lackfi, were one of the most influential barons in Louis' court.³² All in all: the miniator seems to have had good heraldic knowledge but was less familiar with the heraldry of the Hungarian aristocracy.

It is risky to assume that the empty shields of the ancient Magyars in contrast to the ones of the immigrant kindreds wanted consciously to intimate that the use of coats of arms was introduced by the foreign knights. But not impossible. An important lesson from the heraldry of the IC is that rules of heraldry were not as strictly observed in Hungary as in Western Europe. There are frequent inconsistencies, for example, the charge of the Héder (star and crescent) appears on his shield on silver, on his flag on red. On the knightly outfit of the fourteenth century, the coat of arms usually appears three times: on the dress, the shield and the banner, sometimes with variants.³³

²⁸ ENGEL 2001a (on the Gutkeled kindred); ZSOLDOS 2009, 177–89.

²⁹ RÁCZ 2004, 599–604; KÖRMENDI 2009, 421–22.

³⁰ KÖRMENDI 2009, 405

³¹ BERTÉNYI 2010b, 39.

³² KÖRMENDI 2009, 410–14; on the Lackfi: ENGEL 2001b, 182–83.

³³ BERTÉNYI 2010b, 39.

By the time of the illumination of the IC, the use of coats of arms by the great men of the realm was at least 150 years old in Hungary. Once the king sported heraldic signs, the lords of his entourage had to emulate him, just as they may have seen in the courts of Europe. The beginnings of aristocratic heraldry can be studied only through the seals, for other objects bearing their arms got lost in the course of time and no armorial was produced in Hungary. The IC offers, as we saw, only a small sample. On the other hand, seals on charters with valid legal claims were preserved across the centuries. Some seals of the high officers of the court, the *barones* (palatine, Judge Royal, bans, and voivodes) survived from as early as the thirteenth century.

When students of sigillography in the late nineteenth century began to systematize the medieval seals, they realized that dignitaries from the same kindred used the same charges on the shields on their seals. Thus emerged the notion of the coat of arms of kindreds, for which there is no written evidence from the Middle Ages. The seals of office-holders from the same kindred resemble each other more than those of their predecessors or successors in the same office but from another family. Thus, it could happen that a freshly appointed palatine—such as Roland *de genere* [*d. g.*] Rátót, in 1255—used his father's, the Master of the Treasury Domonkos's seal for short while, or Emeric Bebek in 1386, when suddenly named Judge Royal sealed documents for a few weeks with his father's, George's, seal who had been the queen's treasurer.³⁴ The charge of the kindred was good enough for a seal of office! Thus, the use of coats of arms was from the beginning defined by the kindred system, even when, in the fourteenth century, the clans began to fall apart into families. Still, the noble families tended to retain their *generationes*—and this can be best seen in their heraldry.

What were these clan-arms like? Let us imagine a tournament, say the one in 1319, when Charles relieved one of his pages of three teeth.³⁵ The shields and the horse-cover of the assembled knights would have represented the cream of the Hungarian aristocracy. Probably a younger member of each of the Gutkeled with their gules, three piles barwise argent, the Héder with their paly, the Rátót with the linden-leaf, the Hermány (Lackfi) with their dragons, and the Aba with their eagle. If one tried to make some order in the variety, a surprising system seems to emerge. It has been proposed some time ago that the ancient kindreds, claiming to go back to the conquest age (Aba, Kaplony, Miskolc and others) had mostly (totemistic?) animals—mainly birds of prey—as charges, while the immigrant Western kindreds (Gutkeled, Héder, Hermány, Rátót, etc.) displayed usual heraldic charges, flowers or mythical animals. It has also been suggested that the *advenae* were not allowed animal charges, and if they had such

³⁴ DL 214. The kindred's charge (linden leaf) and the sign of office (double-cross) came to be combined; CSOMA 1904 147; RÁCZ 1995, 30.

³⁵ FEJÉR VIII/2., 210–12 Nr.74. = ANJOU 1998., 190. (nr. 481.)

earlier, they had to add a cross, unknown among the ancient kindreds. This hypothesis seems to hold water, but the rules were in no ways stringent nor can the animals on the ancient clans' shields be traced back to totemistic beliefs.³⁶

Another peculiarity of the aristocratic heraldry in the kingdom of Hungary is the incorporation of elements of the royal arms into the coat of arms—as witnessed by their seals—of high office-holders, beginning in the thirteenth century. In 1224 Palatine Gyula *d. g.* Kán simply used the barry with lions³⁷ and in 1237 Palatine Denis *d. g.* Tomaj the double cross.³⁸ But it could also be combined with the kindred's arms as was done in 1237 by *comes* Rainold of Veszprém where the main charge on his seal is the royal double cross with the linden-leaf of his Rátót kindred in the corners.³⁹ Later in the century, the usual seal displayed rather the shield of the *generatio*, implying that their office was due more to their aristocratic standing than to royal favor. Not exclusively, though. Nicholas *d. g.* Pok had two seals as voivode of Transylvania. On the one from 1280, a shield with a barry of six surrounded by six-petalled flowers, another from 1319 displays a shield barry of two. He must have serious reasons to give up the ancient charge of a probably Western kindred, when many of his colleagues sported their kindred-shields. It seems that under Charles, the use of royal heraldic elements became fashionable again. Several barons used the royal barry of eight on their seals, such as Dózsa of Debrecen as voivode (1318–31) and later as palatine (1322), the seals of his vicepalatine, of his sons, of *comes* Doncs of Zólyom and of Tamás Szécsényi in 1335.⁴⁰ Since more than one Transylvanian voivode used the royal barry, it has been suggested that this belonged to their official privilege and they kept it even after they had served, and even their relatives used it. This practice seems to have been broken by the Lackfi of whom six were voivodes continuously between 1356 and 1376: they all used their dragoned seal—the kindred won out against the office. Or the change from kindred to family was late by a century.⁴¹ All these developments are, of course, not reflected in the IC, our only “pseudo-armorial” for the kingdom. A pity.

³⁶ GYÖRFFY 1959, 1–6. KÖRMENDI 2009 *passim*.

³⁷ 1224: DL 111, KÖRMENDI 2009, 398;

³⁸ 1237: Megpecsételt történelem, 79.

³⁹ 1237: Veszprémi káptalan magánlevéltára, Gyipót 3. Photo in: SOLYMOSI 2006, 322. nr 3; KÖRMENDI 2009, 409.

⁴⁰ 1280: DL 1008; 1319: DL 1949; 1321: DL 50696; 1322: DL 2122; 1330: DL 2577, for the issue in general, see. RÁCZ 1992, 123–35.

⁴¹ ENGEL 2001a (Lackfi); DL 73657, 66515; RÁCZ 1992, 130.

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ATTILA AND THE HUN TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN TEXTS

Martyn Rady

The IC is divided into two unequal parts. Of these the earlier and shorter part is given over to the story of the Hungarians' alleged first entry into Pannonia. It occupies seventeen chapters in all and describes a conquest that happened several hundred years before the Hungarians actually occupied and settled the Carpathian basin at the end of the ninth century. In fact, the story of the first entry of the Hungarians into Pannonia, as related in the IC, is nothing other than a history of the Huns in Europe. Since the authors of the IC were convinced that Huns and Hungarians were the same people, the later arrival of the Hungarians in Europe might thus be presented at the beginning of the second part of the text as the story of the Hungarians' return.

The association of the Hungarians with the Huns is a literary motif that was a commonplace in West European chronicles from the late ninth century onwards. It had passed into Hungarian writing by no later than the early thirteenth century, possibly through the mediation of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Memoria seculorum*.¹ The Hungarians are not, however, the descendants of the Huns and medieval Hungarian writers had no special knowledge of Hunnic history or of Attila's deeds. Instead, they relied upon western accounts into which they wove local color and made some quite unhistorical connections. Of these the most significant and enduring were the association of Attila with the dynasty of Árpád, which ruled Hungary until 1301, and the identification of the Huns as the progenitors of the Hungarians. The problem, which the Hungarians faced was, however, profound. In the early Middle Ages, Attila was not the subject of a single literary tradition but of at least two. The first of these portrayed Attila in the manner to which we are accustomed—the evil plunderer of cities with an inordinate lust for power and gold. The second, by contrast, cast Attila in an almost heroic mold, as a valourous warlord of noble bearing and character. It was the second of these traditions, which the

¹ *Gotifredi Memoria*, 102. Discussed in GYÖRFFY 1993, 131 See further, KLANICZAY 2011, 189–90.

Hungarian writers and chroniclers initially encountered and which influenced their selection of forebears.² Only later did they realize the full enormity of Attila's crimes, as related in the other tradition. This obliged a combination of literary leaps and denials aimed at rebuilding the historical reputation both of Attila and of the Huns.

Of these two traditions, the one that is the more familiar portrayed Attila and the Huns as destroyers, whose fell purpose was only thwarted by the intercession of Pope Leo I (440–61) on the Mincio River. Medieval North Italian and French writers added to classical descriptions of the Huns by including stories relating to other steppe peoples or by exaggerating such accounts as they had available. The histories of seventh-century Paul the Deacon not only conflated the Avars with the Huns, but added some good stories. In the siege of Aquileia, we first find the account of the Lady Digna who preferred to kill herself rather than submit to the Huns' embraces. The meeting between Attila and Pope Leo was in Paul's account also attended by the shade of St. Peter himself.³ Other histories would confuse Attila with the Ostrogoth Totila, who sacked Rome in the mid-sixth century, and would portray Attila as the plunderer both of the Holy City and of Florence. By the thirteenth century, Attila had acquired in Italy the head and ears of a dog. A few centuries later he had horns.⁴

Attila's notoriety was additionally enlarged by his inclusion in a whole series of saints' lives. The saints would usually by their prayers thwart Attila's grim purpose. As one historian has observed, "in medieval France sainthood seems to presuppose a meeting with Attila."⁵ The history of the sixth-century Gregory of Tours thus includes an account of how the saintly Aravantius, bishop of Tongres, by praying at St. Peter's tomb in Rome managed to save his city from the Huns. We know, however, that the see of Tongres had long before Attila's lifetime been translated to Maastricht. In much the same unhistorical manner, St. Geneviève saved Paris from Attila, and St. Lupus protected Troyes.⁶

Saints, of course, may not only intercede but also be martyred. By the ninth or tenth centuries, St. Ursula and her Romano-British companions, who if martyred at all were probably killed in the third century, had become the victims of the Huns. Their number had meanwhile swollen to no fewer than eleven thousand, all of whom were holy virgins.⁷ By the time the story had found its way into Geoffrey of Monmouth's

² For the two traditions, see HATTO, 1965, 390; RADY 2003, 6–11.

³ GOFFART 1988, 354–45.; *History of the Lombards*, 50, 67, 159. In the IC an angel with drawn sword hovers over the meeting. See ch. 17, pp. **.

⁴ D'ANCONA 1880, 382–5. ECKHARDT 1940, 171–2, more generally, KRETZENBACHER 1968, 21, 34; for the horned Attila, see GIOVIO 1551.

⁵ LÖFSTEDT 1993, 69.

⁶ ECKHARDT, 1940, 158–70; Gregory of Tours, 114–15 (11. 5); D'ANCONA, 1880, 440.

⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15, pp. 225–28.

twelfth-century account, the 11,000 had been supplemented by a further sixty thousand slain women, although these newcomers were of the “lower orders”.⁸

The second tradition built on the fragmentary account of the fifth-century Greek history of Priscus of Panium, as mediated through the Ostrogoth historians, Cassiodorus and Jordanes.⁹ These added epic passages of their own, most notably in respect of the battles fought by the Huns. They also relayed Priscus’s image of Attila, which was by no means negative, depicting him as “indeed a lover of war, yet restrained in action, mighty in counsel, gracious to suppliants and lenient to those who were once received into his protection.”¹⁰ The Ostrogothic tradition subsequently melded with elements deriving from the Norse sagas and, perhaps also, with Bavarian tales to yield the German *Nibelungenlied* cycle of ballads, which was woven together in Austria around 1200.¹¹ The Attila or Etzel of the *Nibelungenlied* is a magnanimous ruler whose generosity attracts warriors to his court. He does not lust to acquire the Nibelung gold but is restrained, compassionate and kindly, and he has no part in his wife’s plotting. Indeed, he tries as a good host to maintain friendly relations between the Nibelungs and the Huns. As the festivities in his court give way to bloodshed, Etzel can only express disbelief. Nevertheless, he is courageous, plunging into the fray with such carelessness that his retainers have to restrain him by pulling on his battle harness.

The Hungarians entered Pannonia in the late ninth century and their initial settlement was accompanied by extensive raiding across Western Europe and the Balkans. Like previous waves of invaders from the steppe land, the Hungarians were commonly referred to as Huns, a description, which coincided closely with their own name. Thus, in the tenth century, we frequently encounter references in the German chronicles to “the Hungarians, that is to say, the Huns” (*Hungari id est Huni*), “the Huns who are also called Hungarians” (*Huni qui et Ungari dicuntur*), and so forth.¹² The Hungarian occupation of Pannonia, which was considered the heartland of Attila’s old empire, furthered the conflation: *Hunnenland* and *Ungerland* thus became interchangeable. When, therefore, in the 1060s, the queen mother of the Hungarian king presented a gold sword to the Bavarian Duke Otto of Nordheim, it rapidly acquired the reputation of being Attila’s own sword. The sword, which survives today in Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum, is in fact of tenth-century origin.¹³

The Hungarians themselves did little to dispel their association with Attila. Indeed, his name was from no later than the mid-thirteenth century sometimes given

⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, 142–43 (V. 16).

⁹ What survives of Priscus’s account is given in GORDON 1972, 57–111. Cassiodorus’s Gothic history does not survive except in Jordanes’s abridgment.

¹⁰ Jordanes, *Getica* 35 (182).

¹¹ RADY 2003, 10–11; KUNSTMANN 2007, 31.

¹² MÁLYUSZ 1967, 51. See also MACARTNEY 1951, 455–56.

¹³ Lamperti Annales, ad. a. 1071, 130; FODOR 1996, 67–71.

to children.¹⁴ The association with Attila is, however, most apparent in the text of the earliest extant Hungarian chronicle, the *Gesta Hungarorum* composed around 1200 by the so-called Anonymus.¹⁵ Anonymus does not make the Hungarians the descendants of the Huns, a role which he reserves for the Székely of Transylvania. The Hungarians are instead the successors of the Scythians and of the people of Magog, son of Japheth—a link that Anonymus employs to explain the name “Magyar” (or Moger).¹⁶ According to Anonymus, Attila was the direct descendant of Japheth and Magog. Upon entering Pannonia, Attila expelled the Romans and instituted there a kingdom of his own, constructing a capital at Buda—“which is now called in the Hungarian language Budavar and by the Germans as Ecilburg”.¹⁷ Many years later, a descendant of the same dynasty as Attila, a man called Almus was elected by the Hungarian chieftains to lead the Hungarians into Pannonia. His selection for this role was motivated by the reputation of the land of Pannonia as the land of Attila, “from whose progeny the duke Almus ... was descended”.¹⁸ As Almus leads the Hungarians from Scythia to Pannonia, they encounter by Kiev the “Ruthenes” who, upon learning that Almus was of the line of Attila, fear mightily, recollecting how they were once Attila’s tributaries.¹⁹ A similar terror prevails among those other Slavonic groups which the Hungarians later encounter in Pannonia. Almus perishes, however, before he can enter Hungary and leadership of the Hungarians passes to his son, Árpád. It is thus Duke Árpád who takes possession of the city of Attila, Ecilburg. Marvelling at its buildings of stone, Árpád installs himself in Attila’s palace:

They feasted every day with great joy in the palace of King Attila, sitting alongside one another, and all the melodies and sweet sounds of zithers and pipes along with all the songs of minstrels were presented to them. Dishes and drinks were borne to the prince and his noblemen in golden vessels, to the serving men and peasants in silver vessels, because all the treasures of the neighbouring countries God had given into their hands, and they lived lavishly and magnificently with all the guests that came to them.²⁰

Anonymus plainly had no misgivings about making Hungary’s ruling Árpád dynasty descend from the line of Attila; nor for the Hungarians’ rivals to learn of this

¹⁴ ECKHARDT, 1940, 191. We know of four examples from the thirteenth century, and a place name. See FEHÉRTÓI 2004, 77. The name grew in popularity thereafter. See *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*, eds Gyula Kristó et al., (Budapest-Szeged, 1990 etc), 2, no 281; 5, no 507; 13, nos 182, 194, 589; 14, no 3 etc.

¹⁵ *Anonymus* [henceforth: Anon.]

¹⁶ Anon., ch. 1, p. 7.

¹⁷ Anon., ch. 1, p. 9.

¹⁸ Anon., ch. 5, p. 17.

¹⁹ Anon., ch 8, p. 23.

²⁰ Anon., ch. 46, p. 101.

descent—indeed it made their submission all the easier to achieve; nor even to have Árpád and his court feast in Attila's old palace. The explanation for Anonymus's ready embrace of Attila is not hard to guess. As the designation of Attila's capital as Etzelburg suggests, Anonymus's understanding of the historical Attila derived in the first place from the Ostrogothic tradition mediated through much the same material that produced the *Nibelungenlied*. Almus and Árpád are thus the heirs of Attila-Etzel, the heroic warrior-prince of epic adventure; they are emphatically not the descendants of the brutal Attila of the French and North Italian accounts.

During the course of the thirteenth century, however, Hungarian writers became increasingly aware of the alternative portrayal of Attila. It is most likely that this realization depended upon their acquaintance with Venetian histories.²¹ Attila loomed large in Venetian accounts since it was his destruction of Aquileia which was thought to have prompted the flight of its citizens to the lagoons. At the same time, the interest of thirteenth-century Hungarian writers was, as had indeed become common across Western Europe at this time, to provide an historic descent for their nation. The Hun-Hungarian association yielded an obvious route to this end, but for its success it depended upon adjusting the role of Attila. The author who achieved this feat was a well-travelled and highly educated Hungarian cleric called Simon of Kéza (Kézai). The title and organization of Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum*, composed in the 1280s, betrays his intentions. For Kézai, Huns and Hungarians are the same people and thus his history of the deeds of the Hungarians necessarily includes a detailed account of the Huns. The first part of Kézai's chronicle contains a history of the Huns that ends with the dissolution of Attila's empire and with the withdrawal of the Huns to the steppes. The second is a narrative of Hungarian history up to the late thirteenth century, entitled "The Book of the Return": that is the story of the Hun-Hungarians' repossession of Pannonia. The IC follows Kézai's scheme.

The chronology of Kézai's narrative is, moreover, deliberately distorted. Whereas in reality the lapse of time between the collapse of Attila's empire and the Hungarian conquest of Pannonia was over four centuries, Kézai ingeniously shortens this span to a matter of a few years. The Hungarians thus return to Hungary at the end of the ninth century to repose a land which they had only recently evacuated. Kézai adds to the account of Hungarian origins given in Anonymus's earlier account. They are the descendants of Japheth and of the giant who built the Tower of Babel. The giant subsequently begets two sons, Hunor and Magor, from whom the Huns and Hungarians derive. Hunor and Magor dwelt originally by the marshes of the Sea of Azov (*in paludes Maeotidas*), but one day while following a hind they encountered good grazing land. They later seized the women of the Belar who lived on this land as well as two

²¹ MACARTNEY 1940, 276, 285, 312–13.

Alan princesses. From their union, “all the Huns owe their origin”.²² Kézai’s is a fantastic concoction of accounts, some of which may be of autochthonous Hungarian origin, but it rescues the Huns in two ways. First, it dispenses with the ignominy of descent from the Gog and Magog of the Apocalypse, and, secondly, it may be employed to refute another account, found in Jordanes, that the Huns were the offspring of a wild union of demons and Scythian witches. Elsewhere, indeed, Kézai expressly repudiates this origin on the grounds that spirits could not possibly copulate with physical beings.²³ According to Kézai, the Huns eventually multiplied so greatly that they were forced to seek out new lands. Kézai then relates their deeds under Attila’s leadership. On occasions, Kézai adds passages to demonstrate that the Huns’ ferocious reputation was exaggerated. Their entry into Toulouse is thus greeted with “paean of praise by the citizens”.²⁴ Moreover, the decision to attack the west is neither of Attila’s nor of the Huns’ making but instead prompted by the suggestion of the German princes. Elsewhere, Attila’s own leadership is used to explain the Huns’ actions. It is he who subdues the Illyrians, falls upon the Burgundian king, besieges and destroys cities, and dispatches an enormous host against the peoples of the north. The Huns in all this are little more than ciphers, merely following commands given to them. Only on one principal occasion do they vent their savagery, slaying St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins.

Attila is distanced from the Hungarians. Whereas in Anonymus’s account, Attila was the forebear of the Hungarian kings, in Kézai’s history his line expires. His only surviving son, Csaba, is rejected by his people and his heirs are treated with contempt. Almus and his son, Árpád, are accordingly the leaders of the Hungarians not by virtue of their descent but on account of their being “richer in possessions” and having “a more powerful following”.²⁵ The only link between Attila and the house of Árpád is metaphorical. Attila’s emblem is thus the falcon or *turul* bird which, although Kézai does not admit it, was most probably the totem of the Árpád dynasty.²⁶ Moreover, even at the time of Attila’s rule, his authority is shown to have been circumscribed by the establishment of popular institutions. The Huns thus choose their own judge or Rector who, irrespective of the king, metes out justice and arbitrates in disputes. The authority of this officer, who is first called Kádár (an inexplicable reference, unless a corruption of *kadi*), survived, so Kézai tells us, into the period of the “return”, until it was superseded by Christian kingship.²⁷

²² Simon of Kéza [henceforth SK], ch. 5, p. 17, cf. IC p. 17.

²³ SK, ch. 2, p. 7, cf. IC p. 3.

²⁴ SK, ch 13, p. 51, cf. IC p. 39.

²⁵ SK, ch 27, p. 81, cf. IC p. 67.

²⁶ SK, ch. 10, p. 43, with note. cf. IC p. 63.

²⁷ SK, ch 7, pp. 27–29, cf. IC p. 23.

Kézai's history accomplished the following: it gave the Huns and thus the Hungarians a descent from biblical antiquity; it partly exonerated the Huns for their misdeeds; and it freed the Hungarians from any permanent association with Attila. Attila's leadership was shown not to have been passed on biologically to the current ruling house of the Hungarians; moreover, his rulership had, as Kézai explained, been from the very first qualified by popularly appointed institutions of government which represented an alternative source of jurisdiction and authority. It should at this point be noted that Kézai's emphasis on the community, communal will and communal institutions owed much to the contemporary claims put forward by the Hungarian estates and to the new powers advanced in the later thirteenth century by their representative and increasingly influential vehicle, the Hungarian diet.²⁸

Kézai's account of Hun and early Hungarian history provided the basis for the chronicles composed in the fourteenth century and, indeed, for most histories of Hungary written before the period of the Enlightenment. The chronicles of the fourteenth century, of which the IC is the most elaborate witness, therefore copied Kézai's account, often in extenso, although in places they also used other materials which are no longer extant. In so doing they retained Kézai's compressed chronology, the extinction of Attila's line, and the institution of the Rector as an elected judge. The last of these comported with the historic rights that were thought to belong to the Hungarian nobility, while the extinction of the Árpád dynasty in 1301 made claims of antique biological descent ever more irrelevant. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the mystique of apostolic kingship and of coronation with the Holy Crown of St. Stephen superseded all arguments based on succession from the royal line of Attila.²⁹ The loss of the Anonymus chronicle, which was only recovered in the mid-eighteenth century, provided additional room for this interpretation of Hungarian kingship. In contrast, the story of the Hungarians' direct descent from the Huns persevered, even to the extent, as in fourteenth-century accounts, of including their slaughter of St. Ursula and of her army of virgins.

The second half of the fifteenth century saw, however, a revival of Attila's role. This was partly due to the readiness of Renaissance scholars to reinstate pagan rulers on the pantheon of human virtue and partly due to the humanists' search for ever more unlikely figures to cast in the manner of classical heroes. The ability to conceive of historical figures as metaphors rather than as literal forebears also aided Attila's rehabilitation. Two accounts in particular contributed to the transformation of Attila's image: János Thuróczy's which was composed and published in the 1480s, and Antonio Bonfini's, which was the product of the next decade but only printed in the mid-sixteenth century. Of these two, Thuróczy's is stylistically the inferior. The account he gives ulti-

²⁸ VÁČZY 1933, Szűcs 1999.

²⁹ PÉTER 2003, 434–45).

mately derives from Kézai, as mediated through the fourteenth-century chronicles, fleshed out with portions mainly taken from a later fifteenth-century Dominican historian, but there are several interesting additions. The first of these is an alleged conversation between Attila and a hermit. On this occasion, the hermit emphasizes Attila's role within the divine scheme. For the sword that Attila wields is, so the hermit avers, given him by God as a means of correcting human impiety. Attila is thus the agent not of human but of divine will, and his power may be transferred to another—a suggestion, which sends Attila hurrying to his seers.³⁰ Thuróczy here labours a familiar point, incorporating Attila within God's purpose in much the same way that earlier accounts presented him as the Scourge of God, sent to chastise mankind for its sins.³¹ More significant is the closing part of Thuróczy's history. Having adumbrated the achievements of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–90), most notably in respect of his conquests in Moldavia and Bosnia, the author exclaims that the most glorious victory which had once belonged to Attila and the Huns had now returned. A variant text records Matthias as “the second Attila.”³² In Bonfini, Attila is further accommodated, although in typically humanist fashion. Attila is, in Bonfini's account, the author of lengthy speeches, full of rhetorical flourishes which include appeals to Mars and Hercules. In the manner of the “Pius Aeneas” he shows himself to be directed by the divine *numen*. He thus institutes a “republic” and founds laws, and his death in his cups with a new bride becomes a celebration of his commitment to Bacchus and Venus.³³ Bonfini's and Thuróczy's studies of Attila fed in turn a whole generation of humanist scholars who variously added to Attila's speeches, confirmed his instrumentality as part of the divine will, and incorporated into their accounts an ever increasing number of classical allusions. Behind their various representations stood the figure of Matthias Corvinus, greatest of the late Hungarian kings and extravagant patron of humanists and historians.³⁴

Neither Thuróczy nor Bonfini nor their humanist successors sought to make Attila the biological ancestor of the Hungarian kings. Indeed, this was hard, given that Matthias Corvinus was himself an elected ruler and Romanian by origin. The best that could be said of Matthias was that he descended from classical Italian stock, although long removed to the highlands of Dacia.³⁵ Attila stood instead as a metaphor, but as with all allusions the meaning enclosed within the symbol might be altered. A few

³⁰ Thuróczy, 1, ch. 17: p. 42.

³¹ Attila's role as God's *virga* appears in the seventh century. It had previously been used to describe Alaric. See RADY 2003, 9.

³² Ibid, ch. 262: p. 292; and 2, 2, p. 453.

³³ Bonfini, 1. 3. 57ff; 1. 3. 86; 1. 7. 68. The *Decades* was first published in 1543 in a defective edition.

³⁴ See thus, the portrait of Attila given by Archbishop Nicolas Oláh, in Olahus, *Ungaria*, or the “Attila” of Iuvenecus Coelius Calanus, given in BÉL 1735, 89–158. Despite the misgivings of several commentators, this is clearly a Renaissance text.

³⁵ Bonfini, 3. 4. Pp. 253–57.

flourishes by the pro-Polish poet and apologist, Callimachus, were thus sufficient to jeopardize Attila's reputation and so, by extension, the deeds and purpose of his metaphorical heir. Callimachus thus, and in spite of Kézai, made the Huns and Hungarians the product of an unnatural union between fauns and satyrs. As for Attila, he is in Callimachus's biography a buffoon. He imagines that fine clothes constitute majesty and he devotes only a little of his time to drawing up laws. He fails to realize, Callimachus explains, that laws count for less than personal example and so he is the very antithesis of the *lex animata*. His personal appearance is loathsome, for he looks like a dog, and he wins his wars by trickery. In case there should be any doubt, Callimachus expressly makes Attila the metaphoric forebear of Matthias Corvinus for it is Matthias's token, the raven, which sits on Attila's shoulder as he marches against the Italians.³⁶

The Habsburgs, who succeeded to the Hungarian throne in 1526, had no need for Attila. They had pagan precedents in abundance and these outshone any Hunnic king: Aeneas, Hercules and Augustus, to name but three. Their Christian forebears were equally spectacular. They did not, moreover, need to have their ancestors meet the pope, for their ancestors had been popes. But even though Attila was now eclipsed, recollection of the Huns as the putative forebears of the Hungarians persisted for a good deal longer. It was only in the eighteenth century that the Hungarians were identified, on linguistic grounds, as the offspring not of the Huns but of the Finno-Ugrian tribes that had once inhabited ancient Siberia. The story of these tribes was bleak and characterless, and so, unsurprisingly, it was not until the late nineteenth century that most educated Hungarian opinion abandoned the notion of descent from Attila and the Huns. Even so, the Hunnish descent of the Hungarians survives to this day in the imagination, being sustained by forged chronicles and runes, tales of panther skins, and pseudo-histories aimed at excavating the "obsured millennia of Hungarian history."³⁷

³⁶ KARDOS 1932, 1, 5–6, 9–10; see also, SZÖRÉNYI 1987,

³⁷ KLANICZAY, 2011, 206–10.

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THE DYNASTIC CONFLICTS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY IN THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

Dániel Bagi

Some of the most elaborate chapters of the IC, besides, perhaps the ones on King St. Ladislás,¹ are those that describe the various stages of dynastic conflict in the second part of the eleventh century. While the discussion about a possible earlier primary chronicle is still open, there seems to be consensus about King Coloman the Bookman's (1095–1116) having ordered the writing of the history of the Árpáds after the death of St. Stephen I in 1038. This chronicle redaction intended to narrate the emergence of the line of Béla I (1060–1063), ancestor of the kings of Hungary starting from 1074, and their struggle for the throne with the other branch of the family, descending from his brother, Andrew I (1048–1060). Then, the bloody finale of these conflicts, the rivalry between Coloman and his younger brother, Álmos was described in the next phase of the chronicle redaction, written during the reign of Coloman's son, Stephen II (1116 to 1131) and changed after 1131, when the descendants of Álmos came to the throne.²

Traditional Hungarian scholarship accepted the stories about these decades as historical events, taken over from earlier written sources, or based on oral tradition. The most discussed questions were, whether these passages were the work of contemporary writers or of later interpolators.

There are several eye-catching episodes in this part, such as the duel of the future king Béla I with the Pomeranian knight (chapter 79), the story about Zotmund, who sank the German ships on the Danube (chapter 89),³ or the story of sword and crown in the so-called Várkony episode (chapter 92),⁴ the collapse of Béla I's throne (chapter 96)⁵ that led to his fatal injury and death, or St. Ladislás's admirable deeds

¹ See below pp. 159–80.

² See above pp. 5–24.

³ IC 167.

⁴ IC 177.

⁵ IC 185.

(chapters 102–41).⁶ No wonder that these stories became popular in poems, novels, even folklore, and are schoolbook favorites.

Scant attention was paid to the question as to whether these stories reflect “hard facts” or are fictions, and of what was their purpose in the narrative. Since Helmut Beumann’s monograph on Widukind of Korwey, it is generally accepted that sometimes narratives, which are more or less fictional or topological, say more about the *causa scribendi* of a narrative text than about “real events”.⁷ Thus, fictions become facts in the sense that they give evidence of their writer’s or his sponsor’s intentions, and about the chronicler’s imagination.⁸ On the other hand, fictional stories in narrative texts, occurring mostly in reports of conflicts, were intended to present “hard facts.” Research on narrative texts has made serious progress in the last few decades, paying more attention to the symbolic meanings of the narratives. The so-called Münster-school, founded by Gerd Althoff, approaches the narrative texts from two new aspects. One of them is analyzing conflicts in the frame of social bonds, determined mainly by friendship (*amicitia*).⁹ The second one is the symbolic communication in the texts themselves, expressing the process of conflicts by several rituals or ritualized actions, often using fictive scenes in the narratives.

Amicitia is an ancient term, used first by Cicero in his famous *dialogus* about friendship (*Laelius de amicitia*), and its medieval use was seen as a term for a social bond in a double sense. Aside from its traditional connotation as an emotional relationship,¹⁰ friendship was a social category embracing military, political and diplomatic alliances.¹¹ *Amicitia* as emotional and political category seems to have survived the decline of the Roman Empire through the Christian church, and since the Merovingian age it became one of the most important organizing bonds of western society.¹² Initiated by the church, *amicitia* was strengthened by oath, and thus became one of the *fides*-categories.¹³ Friendship could be established even between blood relatives, and was principally based on equality as it can be proven by one of Alcuin’s statements.¹⁴ Bonds of this kind covered almost all fields of life, and could be inherited by descendants.¹⁵ Social bonds based on the principle of *amicitia* were up-valued especially in the case of

⁶ IC 192–264

⁷ BEUMANN 1950; ALTHOFF 2003a.

⁸ GOETZ 1984; GOETZ 2007, 3–18.

⁹ See: ALTHOFF 1990, especially 89–91.

¹⁰ See first of all: EPP 1999; EPP 2001.

¹¹ See GARNIER 2000, especially 8–12.

¹² See ALTHOFF 1990, 85–113.

¹³ About *fides* and oaths see: GRAUS 1959, 71–141.; To oaths and conflicts in East-Central-Europe: DALEWSKI 2008, 186–88.

¹⁴ “Quid est amicitia—aequalitas amicorum.” Alcuinus: De dialectica. *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 101, 978.

¹⁵ See ALTHOFF 1990, 86–89.

conflict: disregarding friendship sealed by oath was a sin and meant breaking the peace. Conflicts between “friends” could usually be solved only by submission by one of the parties—and its acceptance by the other. The submission act, called *deditio* was a highly ritualized act, and was to restore the broken oath and friendship in a new, hierarchical structure.¹⁶ The amount of broken friendships increased dramatically from the middle of the eleventh century on as was shown with several examples by Gerd Althoff; even submissions could not be effective. Despite having been submitted, many friendships could not be restored,¹⁷ as in the case of Henry IV and Gregory VII in Canossa.

Some of the narrations in the IC regarding the second half of the eleventh century can be very well analyzed in terms of social bonds. The struggle for power must have been one of the most important subjects in Coloman’s and Stephen II’s times going back to 1048 and ending with the blinding of Álmos and his son around 1115. This dramatic end of the two brothers’ opposition influenced even the next generations of the Árpáds: after 1131, when Álmos’s line came to the throne, a new chronicler changed the texts written about Coloman, presenting him as tyrant and oath breaker.¹⁸ But the interest in the conflicts of the ancestors may have had another reason as well: Coloman was the grandson of King Béla I, the first among the Árpáds who challenged his brother’s, Andrew’s I, power. His sons, Géza I. (1074–1077) and Ladislas I (1077–1095) defeated king Solomon (1063–1074), Andrew’s son in 1074, opening the way for Béla’s line to rule in Hungary. Coloman must have been conscious of the fact that his own line obtained the throne illegally both in 1060 and 1074, usurping Andrew’s and Solomon’s rights. No wonder that his chronicler tried to prove that the line of Béla had from the very beginnings the same or even better right to rule in Hungary than Andrew and his son. The *onus probandi*, the burden of the proof had two basic points: on the one hand Coloman needed to show that Béla possessed certain special virtues, which gave him and his descendants better rights to rule, and he had to draw the course and progress of the conflicts between the family members from the middle of the eleventh century onward.

Coloman’s first intention is reflected in one of the more or less fictional narratives of the chronicle, describing an episode from young Prince Béla’s life in Polish exile. Once, when the pagan Pomeranians did not render the usual tribute to the Poles, he volunteered to fight a duel for the Polish duke and his sons with a Pomeranian knight.

When they met in combat, armed with lances, Béla is said to have so manfully unseated the Pomeranian from his horse that he could not move from the spot where he had fallen, and Béla pierced him with his sword. Then the duke of

¹⁶ ALTHOFF 2003, 65–85.

¹⁷ ALTHOFF 2003, 83.

¹⁸ IC chapters 142–52, 265–83.

the Pomeranians confessed himself at fault; and the Pomeranians, seeing this, humbly submitted to the duke of Poland and paid the accustomed tribute without murmuring. Returning thence in victory, won for him by Béla, the duke praised the boldness and strength of Prince Béla and bestowed on him all the Pomeranian tribute and his daughter as wife.¹⁹

The date of the writing of this chapter is open to debate. Some scholars, based on contextual elements, wished to place it in the thirteenth century, and regarded it as pure interpolation of a later chronicler, who used literary elements of the chivalresque epic of the thirteenth century. Others put the *terminus ante quem non* into the first decade of the twelfth century. No doubt, some expressions in the text suggest a date of at least some modifications and interpolations of a primary text in the thirteenth century; however, duels of this kind are depicted in the early, eleventh-century parts of the chronicle as well, and even earlier events, such as the Botond saga, which narrates a similar duel during the siege of Constantinople by the pagan Hungarians.²⁰

There are two allusions in the text, which may help to point to the time of writing. The Pomeranians are called pagans, thus this chapter was most likely written by someone for whom the paganism of the Pomeranians was well known. Since Pomeranians were—as we know from the *vita* of Otto of Bamberg—finally conquered and converted by Duke Boleslas III Wrymouth around 1126, to call them pagans would not have been appropriate after that date.²¹ Altogether, Béla's duel fits into the context of the Polish-Pomeranian wars of the turn of the eleventh to twelfth centuries rather than that of a later or earlier period. The main points, of course, are Béla's image as *miles* and his marriage into the Piast dynasty. It was one of the favorite literary devices of medieval *gesta* to underline the chivalresque abilities of rulers from their childhood or youth onward. Therefore, it is reasonable to propose that in Coloman's times, chapter 79 served as an overture for the deeds of the king's own line within the dynasty, showing its ancestor as a valiant knight and him descending from a ruling family.

Returning to the roots of the dynastic conflicts, to Andrew's and Béla's youth, they were sons of Vazul and had to leave the country after the blinding of their father, some time after 1031. Andrew, together with his brother Levente, was able to return to

¹⁹ IC 149–51: “Cumque armati cum lancea se vinxissent, tam viriliter Pomoranum fertur Bela de suo dextario detruisse, ut de loco se movere non potuit, et gladio perfossum prostravit. Confeessusque est ipse dux Pomoranus se culpabilem. Quo viso Pomorani duci Polonie humiliter subditi solitum tributum sine contradictione persolverunt. Dux vero inde revertens cum victoria per Belam adquisita, audicium et potentiam valoris in Bela duce collaudans cum toto censu Pomoranico ei tradidit filiam suam in uxorem et universa que sibi necessaria fuerant sufficienter et copiose ministrari precepit, et cum in omnibus honoratum in ducatu suo tenuit ac bona quantitate de terra eundem non omisit.”

²⁰ IC 105. Actually, almost all miniatures with battle scenes present the principals as if fighting single combat.

²¹ A detailed analysis about the time of writing of this chapter see: BAGI 2012, 99–117.

Hungary after King Peter was expelled for a second time in 1046. With Andrew becoming king, a sideline of the Árpáds was restored.

The opening act of all further events in the dynastic conflicts of the subsequent generations is known from chapter 88 of the IC.

Having lost one brother, King Andrew sent to Poland to his other brother Béla, calling him with great love and saying: "Once we shared poverty and labor together, and now I ask you, most beloved brother, that you come to me without tarrying, so that we may be companions in joy and share in the good things of the kingdom, rejoicing in each other's presence. For I have neither heir nor brother except you. You shall be my heir, and you shall succeed me in the kingdom." Won by these words, Béla came to the king with all his family. When the king saw him, he rejoiced *with a great joy*, because he was supported by his brother's strength. Then the king and his brother Béla took counsel and divided the kingdom into three parts, of which two remained in the possession or power of the royal majesty and the third was put into the possession of the duke. This first division of the kingdom became the seed of discord and wars between the dukes and the kings of Hungary.²²

This chapter contains three important points: Andrew and his brother seem to have divided the country, but were to share royal power, and agreed about the succession of the throne. In the chronicler's opinion, this agreement, the first partition of the country, became the origin of all later conflicts between the two lines of the Árpáds.

Scholars interpreted this text in two different ways. One line of research understood the narrative in the frame of state-building. According to this thesis, Andrew and Béla established a new territorial institution, referred to as the *ducatus*, administrated by one of the members of the dynasty, usually one of the king's brothers. This territorial unit was supposed to have incorporated one third of the entire kingdom mainly on the border regions of Hungary. There was, however, no consensus about the origins of this partition among the adherents of this notion: some set it as far back as the ninth century, others into the middle of the eleventh (as in the IC). Some connected it with the settlement area for the so-called joined tribes (Kabars, "Cumans"), who came with the Hungarian tribes into the Carpathian basin. Others identified the "duchy" with the

²² IC ch. 88, 165: "Rex autem hic Andreas fratre orbatus misit in Poloniam ad alterum fratrem suum Belam cum magna dilectione vocans eum et dicens: „Nos qui quondam penurie participes fuimus et laborum, rogo te dilectissime frater, ut ad me non tardes venire, quatenus consortes simus gaudiorum et bonis regni corporali presentia gaudentes communicemus. Neque enim heredem habeo, nec germanum preter te. Tu sis michi heres, tu in regnum succedas. Post hec autem rex et frater eius Bela habito consilio diviserunt regnum in tres partes, quarum due in proprietatem regie maiestatis seu potestatis manserunt, tertia vero pars in proprietatem ducis est collata. Hec igitur prima regni huius divisio seminarium fuit discordie et guerrarum inter duces et reges Hungarie."

peripheries of the country that served as a refuge for the last free elements of the society, trying to avoid the submission to the “feudal state.” As to its function, some regarded it a border defense zone, while others treated it as prolonged arm of the “state” with the aim of subjecting the free elements living in the territory of the *ducatus*.²³

Both post-war state-building theories emerged in the context of Marxist-Leninist historical theory. One of them was interlaced with nineteenth-century elements of national historical scholarship, reviving theses of historicism and romanticism, whereas the other one, stepping around the national narrative, tried to construct a state-building theory offering structural comparisons and approaching the issue from social history. These *ducatus*-theories were on the one hand closely connected to the main lines of Bohemian-Czech, respectively Czechoslovak theories arguing for Great-Moravian continuity; on the other, they fitted well into the so-called East-Central-European medieval state-building concept, elaborated in the 1960s mostly by Polish and Czechoslovak historians, defining state building in the area as the dilatation of royal/ducal power from the dynastic centers toward the peripheries.²⁴ This last theory denied any continuity of the “state” from the very beginnings on, but explained the emergence of the royal/ducal power as a history of conflicts between the members of the dynasty and their *comites*. Both historiographical theories were based on two chapters of Cosmas of Prague’s *Chronicle* from the beginning of the twelfth century. For the classic approach of Czech historiography, depicting the early Bohemian history as continuation of the Moravian period, we have the chapter that describes Svatopluc’s decline and death. According to Cosmas’s narration, after the Moravian king died, his empire was divided by the Poles, Hungarians and East-Franks.²⁵ Cosmas’s other story, which for many scholars in post-war Czechoslovakia and Poland served as a proof for the theory of ducal absolutism, is his view of ducal power in Libusa’s imaginary speech.²⁶ Other scholars emphasized in this arrangement between the brothers not the “state building” aspect but rather the overture of a succession crisis and interpreted it in a legal sense as a dynastic succession rule. The agreement was, according to this hypothesis, a deal within the dynasty and all further conflicts emerged from the unclear rules of succession, or, in turn by ignoring these norms.²⁷

Whether the words in chapter 88 are to be understood as a succession rule or agreement, is very much debatable. Recent research has demonstrated that in early medieval monarchies, often called “patrimonial,” where the succession was monopolized by ruling dynasties, the *fideles* of the royal family were very much interested who

²³ For these theories, see: GYÖRFFY 1959 and KRISTÓ 1974.

²⁴ For a summarizing study on this question, see KALHOUS 2012.

²⁵ COSMAS I. c. 14, 32–33; cf. WOLVERTON, 63–64.

²⁶ COSMAS I. c. 5. 14; 43–45; WOLVERTON, 43–45.

²⁷ So, for example, DEÉR 1993², 129.

would be elevated to the throne, since their personal career depended on it.²⁸ A more specific question is whether the conflicts originated in a traditional customary succession law, and the *ducatus* was connected also to a principle of succession. The prevailing view is that there was an ancient succession rule among the Árpáds, preferring always the oldest family member to all others. This model, referred to as *seniorat*, was frequently seen as a special East European feature.²⁹ During the eleventh century, this assumed tradition seems to have been challenged by primogeniture and this caused all further conflicts, just as the chronicler maintains.³⁰ According to one theory, the *ducatus* as a specific institution was to protect the succession right of the older family members, mainly brothers, against the kings' and their mostly foreign wives' offspring.³¹ This assumption did not remain unchallenged,³² doubting the primacy or even the existence of *seniorat* as an ancient and basic norm. This matter, as an assumed "regional model"—that cannot be discussed in detail here—has to be studied in comparison with its Polish and Czech parallels.³³ First of all it should be defined, what could be regarded as law in the eleventh century. The present view is that law in the earlier Middle Ages meant not a constitutive, written and norm binding all, but rather particular and oral agreement, restricted to particular cases.³⁴ A good example could be the German king, Henry II's elevation to the throne in 1002. It was the result of a longer election process, where possible candidates appealed to different rights such like consanguinity or idoneity. But finally, the arguments used for Henry's rights convinced the "audience."³⁵

Chapter 88 of the chronicle treated the question of *divisio regni* mainly from the point of view of dynastic conflicts and in the context of social, emotional and legal connections between the members of the dynasty, presenting the whole matter retrospectively. It has been established that this chapter must have been written later, at the earliest after the final takeover of the rule by the line of Béla I in 1074. Nevertheless, the mention of the *first* division of the kingdom suggests that the author of this chapter looked at the conflicts from a longer distance, perhaps from the perspective of Coloman, who, between 1106 and 1115, after a year-long struggle with his brother, ended the division in the kingdom,

This thesis can be proven by the language of chapter 88. There are two terms in this chapter, which may be useful to understand the situation: *divisio regni* and *discordia*.

²⁸ BECHER 2009, 198.

²⁹ LÜBKE 2004, 290–322; FONT 2008, 169–210.

³⁰ See BARTONIEK 1987², 8–11; ECKHART 1946, 80–82; GYÖRFFY 1959, 137.

³¹ RUGONFALVI 1928–1929, 747.

³² DOMANOVSKY 1929, 51–52; ZSOLDOS 1997, 45; *KÉPES KRÓNIKA* 2004, 247. (written by Kornél Szovák).

³³ First steps toward a comparatistic study see: DALEWSKI 2015

³⁴ See: VOLLRATH 1982, 38; PATZOLD 2002, 476; WHITE 1978, 305; WHITE 2011, 70–71.

³⁵ PATZOLD 2002, 467–508; KÖRNTGEN 2000, 159–85.

Divisio regni is a term taken from the Bible. In one passage, which might have originated from the Logion, known from the Gospels of Mathew and Luke, it is the reply of Jesus when accused by the Pharisees, for having expelled the devil from an ill woman with the help Beelzebub:

Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation; and house upon house shall fall. And if Satan also is divided against himself, how will his kingdom stand? For you say that I cast out demons through Beelzebub. And if I cast out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges. But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you.”³⁶

The primary interpretation of this passage is, of course, theological. The metaphor of the divided kingdom brings evidence for Jesus’s thaumaturgical skills, while the behavior of the Pharisees became one of the basic examples of blasphemy.³⁷ On a secular plane, *divisio regni* became, ever since the Merovingian age, a device of dynastic policy. The Merovingians and their successors, the Carolingians, solved the dynastic succession by dividing the country among their male descendants, giving them real territories for possessing and governing.³⁸ This procedure, otherwise not typical for the Germanic kingdoms,³⁹ might have been connected with some gentile tradition, attempting to provide dynastic power by biological multiplication of the ruler.⁴⁰ Whatever the case may be, from Chlodvig’s death in 511 until the decline of the Carolingian dynasty in the ninth century, dividing the country by agreement of the successors or by the rulers’ testament had been widely used to guarantee royal power for almost all male descendants of the dynasty. The practice of the *divisio regni* ended in the beginning of the tenth century, when the rulers of the Saxon dynasty changed the succession rules in favor of the *unitas imperii*.⁴¹ From this time on, the biblical and the historical meanings of *divisio regni* were augmented by a new one: the term began to mean conflicts, chaotic circumstances, and disagreement within dynasties.⁴² It appears in this sense even in the Golden

³⁶ Luke 11. 17–20.: “Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolatur et domus supra domum cadet. Si autem et Satanus in se ipsum divisus est, quomodo stabit regnum ipsius? Quia dicitis in Beelzebub eicere me daemonia. si autem ego in Beelzebub eicio daemonia filii vestri in quo eiciunt ideo? Ipsi iudices vestri erunt. Porro si in digito Dei eicio daemonia profecto praevenit in vos regnum Dei.”

³⁷ See SCHNACKENBURG 1963, 251–60.

³⁸ ERKENS 1996, 423–85; KASTEN 1997, 9–10.

³⁹ Beyond the Franks it was only used by the Burgundians. See: KASTEN, 1997, 14.

⁴⁰ GRAUS 1959, 71–121.

⁴¹ MGH DD. I. Nr. 20. 55–56.; HLAWITSCHKA 1988, 247–59.

⁴² REGINO 129.; Cf MACLEAN 2001, 202–206. THIETMAR VII. 488–90; Cf. WERNER 2002, 559.

Bull of Charles IV.⁴³ Thus, the use of the term *divisio regni* in chapter 88 was to show to a later audience, how the struggles between family members began, and what the relationship between Andrew and Béla originally looked like.

The bloody finale of the eleventh-century conflicts was the blinding of Álmos and his son Béla around 1115. In Hungarian scholarship, Coloman's punishment of his brother and nephew was interpreted as a just proceeding against the duke, who tried to challenge his brother's right to throne several times, frequently with foreign aid. Coloman proceeded just as his predecessor, St. Stephen, who had blinded his cousin Vazul, presumably because he resisted his designation of Peter Orseolo (1038–40 and 1044–46) to the throne of Hungary. However, this parallel is not unproblematic. Blinding was a wide-spread method of punishment, known and exercised in the early medieval world, and under certain circumstances, in cases of revolts, betrayals—generally for oath-breaking—it was regarded as legitimate.⁴⁴ But it was not irrelevant, whether blinding was used against a consanguine or some other person. To punish close relatives was critically observed or even rejected by contemporaries, as far as known from both earlier and contemporary examples.⁴⁵ Vazul's blinding was explained, for example, in the *Annales Altaenses Maiores*, by his having resisting King Stephen's decision about the succession of the throne.⁴⁶ In Přemyslide Bohemia, Cosmas of Prague reports that Vladislav I refused to blind his brother, to avoid doing the same as Bolesław III Wrymouth of Poland had a couple of years before with his half-brother.⁴⁷ Jaromir had to suffer more serious injury twice by his brothers: first, around 1002, he was castrated by Bolesław III, then later he was blinded by Oldřich, his other brother, what, in Cosmas's opinion, was against fraternal love.⁴⁸

One of the stories preserved in the IC proves that Álmos's blinding might not have remained without discussion in contemporary Hungary. Chapter 147 describes one of the many encounters between Coloman and Álmos and narrates it as follows:

In the year of our Lord 1106, Duke Álmos returned from Passau, whither he had fled for fear of the king. The king received him in peace. Then he fled to Poland; and being urged on by the advice of the Poles and Hungarians, and having received their help, he returned to Hungary, and he captured and occu-

⁴³ GOLDENE BULLE 44–45.

⁴⁴ BÜHRER-THIERRY 1997, 76–77.

⁴⁵ See the numerous examples in ALTHOFF 2003, cf. also DALEWSKI 2005, 150–53.

⁴⁶ ANNALES ALTAHENSES MAIORES a. A 1041. 24.: "Filiū fratris sui digniorem in regno, quia hoc non consensit, cecavit et parvulos eiusdem exilio relegavit."

⁴⁷ "Nequaquam, inquit, assimilabor duci Poloniensi Bolezlao, qui fratrem suum Izbigneu sub fidei sacramentis advocavit dolis et eum tercia die privavit oculis." *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum* III. c. 34. 205; cf. WOLVERTON, 223.

⁴⁸ "Lumine privasti me nec fratrem ut frater amasti." Ibid. I. c. 42, 78; WOLVERTON, 106.

pied Abaújvár. When the king heard this, he besieged the place. As he prepared for battle on the morrow, behold, the duke, suddenly mounting his horse, rode forth alone from the gates of the castle with utmost speed to the king's camp. When he had come to the king's tent, he immediately dismounted from his horse and, prostrating himself at the king's feet, in the presence of all he proclaimed himself guilty. The king pardoned him without the knowledge of his men; at the duke's prayer he also turned away his anger from the Hungarians who were in the castle.⁴⁹

The story narrated in this chapter is consistent with the tradition of the *deditio*, the ritual surrender and submission. As mentioned before, submission was the ritual device to restore relationship between "friends." Indeed, *deditio* was, as Gerd Althoff emphasized, even a privilege: "friends" who could gain to be submitted by their competitor if they were conquered, could hope to retain their life and enter a new kind of "friendship" with their submitter.⁵⁰

However, the report on Álmos's submission raises the question as to why the story ended with the blinding of the duke. The begging for pardon, asking for submission and the accepting of the surrender had to have at least one consequence: the submitted had to disclaim his rights to power, but could save his life and preserve his private properties. However, the tradition of the *deditio* lived through a serious crisis in the second half of the eleventh century, and no submission act reached its primary goal, the restoration of the former good relationship. Many who submitted did not disclaim their ambition to rule. On the other hand, despite the ritual submission, several of them could not retain their freedom and private goods. In Poland, for example, Bolesław Wrymouth's brother had to submit to his brother in 1106, and had to acknowledge to own his goods no more as a lord, but as a "warrior/knight" (*sicut miles, non dominus*).⁵¹ Despite the submission, the new friendship seems not to have worked. In the end, Zbigniew was blinded by his brother around 1112.

Returning to the case of the Árpáds, the chronicle records that after his submission, Álmos went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and by the time he returned, his brother had abolished the *ducatus*. It was frequently argued that this might have moved

⁴⁹ IC p. 273: "Anno Domini M-o C-o VI-o reversus est dux Almus de Patavia, qui propter regis timorem illuc fugerat. Quem rex suscepit ad pacem. Deinde fugit in Poloniam et accersito Polonorum et Hungarorum consilio et auxilio reversus est in Hungariam et cepit Novum Castrum et intravit illud. Rex autem hoc audito obsedit castrum. Cumque in crastinum pugnare vellet, ecce dux subito equum ascendens portas castri exiens citissime equitavit solus ad castrum regis. Et cum ad tentorium regis venisset, statim de equo descendens et ad pedes regis venisset et in ore omnium se culpabilem proclamavit. Rex autem <suis> nichil tale <sentientibus> duci indulsit. Nam et indignationem suam ab Hungaris, qui in castro erant, per intercessionem ducis amovit."

⁵⁰ ALTHOFF 1997, 27–52.; ALTHOFF 2003, 64–66.

⁵¹ GPP II: 38, p. 190.

him to resist his brother and to continue fighting for his ducal power.⁵² This argument, however, has to be treated critically. According to the rules of submission, Álmos must have been aware of the loss of his ducal position. Therefore, he could not have been motivated to keep on fighting his brother for the duchy. It is more credible that there was something else in the background. After Álmos's return from Jerusalem, he started founding churches on his domains, donating his goods to the church. This move may have aimed at preserving the rest of his estates by donating them, and was probably connected with his brother's policy, attempting to take away his private domains, violating the rules of the submission. The donation to the church may have at least guaranteed to avoid the takeover by the royal power. This hypothesis can be supported by one further argument. According to the chronicle, Álmos, having returned from Jerusalem, planned a plot against his brother, but this was betrayed, and he had to escape again. He went to Henry V and appealed to the German-Roman king, asking for aid, arguing that he lost both his domains and his position in the kingdom.⁵³ The German chronicler's report makes it clear that Álmos complained first of all about the loss of his goods.

Chapter 147 suggests, therefore, that all further conflicts between Coloman and Álmos were caused by Coloman's ambition to deprive his brother of his domains, which, according to the rules of the submission should have remained in the possession of the duke. This circumstance might have influenced the later destiny of the chapter. While, as mentioned above, it was most likely written during the reign of Coloman's son, Stephan II, it was, in contrast to other chapters describing Coloman's deeds, not destroyed or basically altered by the chroniclers of the Álmos-line after 1131. This is surprising, because Coloman's brutal proceeding against his brother and nephew caused that their heirs on the throne tried to change Coloman's and Stephan's image with many devices, first of all depicting them as tyrants, despots and bad rulers. The survival of the story about Álmos's submission in the chronicle can be—to my mind—explained by the fact that submission implied obligations not only for the submitted, but also for him, who accepted the submission. The latter was obliged by oath to provide safety for the submitted. Therefore, paradoxically, both lines of the dynasty might have regarded Álmos's submission as evidence for their rights. Álmos's descendants could interpret it as an oath breaking by the king, who despite the submission blended his brother and nephew, while the *deditio* itself might have given evidence for Stephan II for the bloody end of the struggle between his father and uncle.

⁵² KRISTÓ-MAKK 1988, 150.

⁵³ "Eo tempore orta simultate inter Colomannum regem Pannoniae germanumque eius vocabulo Almus, eo quod uterque sibi potius regiam competere dignitatem iure gentis illius contenderet, spoliatus tam rebus quam ducatu, quo inter Ungros clarus et ut decuit fratrem regis a rege secundus claruit, Almus regem Heinricum adiit, et [...] miserias suas deplorans, Romani imperii magnilicentiam in compassionem et defensionem sui flectere curavit." EKKEHARD 250.

The Abaújvár scene in 1106 raises a further issue: whether the submission of Álmos had an effect on the interpretation of the earlier conflicts between the Árpáds. As discussed above, chapter 88 bears evidence of the importance of the “friendship” between Andrew and Béla. The deal made between the two brothers suggests that the relationship created around 1048 was based on fraternal love and mutual interests. This idyllic relationship between Andrew I and his brother began to deteriorate when the king let his infant-son Solomon be crowned and anointed. Béla’s reaction appears in a rather contradictory way in the chronicle. According to chapter 91 he was offended by the words of the liturgy at Solomon’s coronation, implying that the child would be “lord over his brethren,”⁵⁴ while chapter 92 records, “as others say,” that Solomon was consecrated and crowned with the consent of his brother, his and nephews, and the great mean of the realm.⁵⁵ There is no consensus among scholars either about the question whether chapter 91 or 92 describes the events authentically, or whether the known text is based on two different chronicle redactions or not.⁵⁶ Regarding the question of authenticity, there is no doubt, in my opinion, that from the two different relations the second one reflects the real circumstances of Solomon’s consecration: without such a consent it would have been impossible to make him king.⁵⁷ More difficult is the second question, whether the two different stories are based on two independent chronicle redactions or not. The content of chapter 91 could be interpreted as proof for the institution of the *seniorat*, which might be an explanation for Béla’s emotions. But as far as it is proven by similar examples from the eleventh century, reigns of minors was not a rarity. Both emperors Otto III and Henry IV began to rule as minors, and we know further cases from Bohemia and Poland. Rulership by an underaged person was possible, but they had to have accepted guardians. These were usually the mothers, but we can see in many cases that they had to share this office with other family members or even with *proceres* of the country.⁵⁸ Although we have no proof in the sources, it is not impossible that the sentence in chapter 92, stating that King Andrew knew, his son would be not able to rule after his death without Béla’s will,⁵⁹ referred to Béla’s right to be his guardian.

⁵⁴ IC ch. 91, 175: “Cum autem in coronatione Salomonis canerent: ‘esto dominus fratrum tuorum,’ et hoc per interpretem Bele I. duci innotuisset, quod Salomon infantulus sibi dominus constitueretur, graviter est indignatus.”

⁵⁵ IC ch. 92, *ibid*: “Dicunt alii, quod Bela duce et filius eius, Geycha scilicet et Ladizlao cunctisque regni optimatibus consensientibus Salomon unctus esset in regem.”

⁵⁶ See the prolematics summarized by: LASZLOVSZKY 2009, 109–10.

⁵⁷ GERICS 1995, 127.

⁵⁸ For the whole matter, see: OFFERGELD 2001, 789–90.

⁵⁹ IC ch. 92, 175–77: “Rex autem cognoscebat, quod filius suus absque voluntate ducis post obitum suum regnare non posset.”

Chapter 92 also contains the so called Várkony-episode. Andrew I invited his brother to his court in Várkony, to negotiate with him about Solomon's reign after Andrew's death, which he realized would not be safe without Béla's approval. But in fact, the king wished to "make trial of the duke and to put to him a double question, whether he wishes to have the crown or the duchy." He set out the crown and a sword and was to ask Béla to make a choice. He told his attendants: "If the duke shall choose in friendship and peace to have the duchy, he shall have it; but if the crown, then you two magnates arise forthwith and with that same sword behead Duke Béla." The duke, forewarned by a loyal doorkeeper, chose the sword and said: "Let your son have the crown since he has been anointed and give me the duchy." And forthwith he took the sword. Then the king bowed down at his feet, which is a rare thing. For he thought that he had given the crown to his son in the same simplicity of spirit as Levente had given it to him. But the duke had done so out of fear."⁶⁰

This episode with crown and sword, a favorite of painters and schoolbook-authors, was interpreted in Hungarian scholarship in many ways. Some historians treated it as a folkloric topos, a kind of choice between good and bad; others regarded the sword as the insigne of the *ducatus*, referring to the military aspect of the duchy, alluding to the idea about its statehood-like unit, or interpreted the sword in connection with coronation rites. However, there is also a different way of looking at it. Since Carolingian times, even when swords did not play a role in coronation orders, sword and crown were inseparable insignia of royal power. Ruler's swords were not seldom borne by the rulers' close companions. Abusing this service led frequently to misunderstandings. Bolesław III Wrymouth defeated his rebellious half-brother, Zbigniew, but later allowed him to return to Poland and own some castles as fraternal gift. However, Zbigniew returned as a claimant, having musicians and a sword bearer march before him, showing that he wanted to rule⁶¹. The advisers of his brother, who finally let him be blinded to avoid further conflicts, may have—according to Gallus—misunderstood this. Of course, there was no misunderstanding: if Gallus's relation of Zbigniew's return is correct, there could be no doubt that he tried to behave as a ruler, not as a submitted *miles*. Presumably, the chronicler tried to judge the conflict between the brothers very carefully, and that's why he argued that Bolesław's reaction was based on misunderstanding.

The importance of sword bearing can be proven by a narrative preserved in the *Chronicle* of Richer of Reims, which demonstrate the symbolism of sword bearing. Before his meeting with Hugh Capet, Otto II sent out everyone from his throne hall and put a sword on a chair. After finishing the colloquy with Hugh, he stood up, started

⁶⁰ IC ch. 92, 177.

⁶¹ GPP 3: 25, pp. 272–73.

leaving the hall, but left his sword on a chair. Hugh followed him, and then, Otto asked him, to return, and bring his sword after him. This way, so goes Richer, Hugh announced to all who saw it that he had submitted to Otto.⁶²

The Várkony crown-and-sword-story must have been, to my mind, a later interpolation, written in Coloman's times in order to demonstrate that the relationship became worse after Andrew and Béla made their decision on the *divisio regni*, first of all due to the fact that Andrew let his son be consecrated against the agreement made with his brother. However we do not know, whether the original agreement, as in chapter 88, really contained the king's promise about the throne succession right for his brother. From Coloman's perspective the scene was one of Andrew's—and later his son's—attempts, to try to submit Béla and later his sons. That's why, at least to my opinion, the scene must have shown that Béla's appointment as sword-bearer, and therefore the attempt to submit him was illegitimate, because coerced. As many contemporary examples show, to become a sword-bearer was on the one hand a privilege, on the other hand it must have been taken by one's own will.

To summarize: in comparison to the first historiographical works written in East-Central-Europe, to the *Gesta Principum Polonorum* by "Gallus Anonymus" and the *Chronicle of the Czechs* by Cosmas of Prague, the IC has had a more complicated history, since it was written by many authors in many phases, and even earlier parts of the text were interpolated, corrected, changed several times up until the fourteenth century. This circumstance makes impossible, to treat the text as a literary one, and everyone, who intends to deal with it, has to approach it first of all as a philological matter. I have tried to show that the parts describing the dynastic conflicts between the Árpádians in the eleventh century, can be dated, located, and analyzed through the texts themselves. The stories, reflecting the Latin intellectual milieu of the late eleventh and early twelfth century, suggest that there were intellectuals in Coloman's court, who—perhaps together with the king—attempted to judge and explain the dynastic conflicts, their backgrounds, history and bloody finale. Due to their clerical education, common to Latin Christian Europe, they presented political events with the same theological and literary devices as their fellows in the western part of the continent, implying symbolic meanings to real or imaginary scenes of crucial importance to the conflicts.

⁶² "Post multa colloquia de amicitia habenda, cum rex exiret, gladiumque respiciens peteret, dux paululum a se discedens se inclinavit ut gladium tolleret, ac post regem ferret. Hac enim causa super sellam relictus fuit, ut cum dux cunctis videntibus gladium ferret, in posterum etiam se militaturum indicaret." RICHER III. 85, p. 217. Cf. Justin Lake, (ed. and tr.) *Richer of Saint-Rémi. Histories* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Cambridge MA: Harvard UP. 2 vols., 2011) 1: 145.

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THE IMAGE OF THE IDEAL KING IN TWELFTH-CENTURY HUNGARY.
REMARKS ON THE LEGEND OF ST. LADISLAS AND THE IC*

Kornél Szovák

Though often regarded as one of the peripheral nations of medieval Europe (which, in a strictly geographical sense, it was), the newly-founded kingdom of Hungary was not isolated from the broad development of monarchical institutions elsewhere in the Latin West.¹ Indeed, from the third quarter of the eleventh century, Empire and papacy were both concerned with securing the allegiance and political attachment of the Hungarian realm and neither remained aloof from the opportunities offered by the dynastic disputes that erupted in the dynasty of the saint-king Stephen. The struggle for the Hungarian throne in the second half of the eleventh century assumed Europe-wide significance from the fact that the universal claims of the Papacy and the Empire towards the kingdom of Hungary were both formulated in part as a consequence of it. The sons of Béla I (1060–63), Géza and Ladislas, defeated the legitimately-crowned king, Solomon, son of Andrew I (1046–60), in the battle of Mogyoród in 1074. After this struggle, Solomon turned for assistance to the King Henry IV of Germany, thus risking the independence of his country. Pope Gregory VII regarded his the German involvement as an infringement of the rights of St. Peter² and declared that Solomon's defeat at Mogyoród was a divine judgment for having received the kingdom from the German king and not from the Roman pontiff.³ Those events gave the pope an opportunity to add a further

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¹ LEGOFF 1965, 12–13 suggests that by the end of the eleventh century, the kingdom of Hungary was fully drawn into the community of Western Christendom.

² Pope Gregory VII's letter of 28 October 1074 to Solomon (ii. 13): "tu tamen in ceteris quoque a regia virtute et moribus longe discedens ius et honorem sancti PETRI quantum ad te imminuisti et alienasti, dum eius regnum a rege Teutonicorum in beneficium, sicut audivimus, suscepisti." *MGH Epp. Sel.* I, 145.

³ Pope Gregory VII's letter of 23 March 1075 to Géza I (ii. 63): "Quod quia consanguineus tuus a rege Teutonico non a Romano pontifice usurpative obtinuit, dominium eius, ut credimus, divinum iudicium impedit." *Ibid.*, I, 218.

argument to Hungary's worldly dependence on St. Peter,⁴ in addition to St. Stephen's offering of the kingdom to St. Peter and the Emperor Henry III's recognition of that subordination, following his defeat of the Hungarian king.⁵ The sensitive reaction of the Hungarians will be covered briefly later, but I would like to emphasize at this point that this disputed succession provided the occasion for Pope Gregory VII to formulate the theory of *translatio regni*,⁶ which was to resonate throughout Europe.

From the last quarter of the eleventh century, Gregorian ideas tended to the desacralization of the royal dignity. As a response to the Gregorian attacks, Bishop Hartvic of Győr, in the court of King Coloman/Kálmán (1096–1116), elaborated the theory of St. Stephen's apostolic kingship to defend the sovereignty of the Hungarian king;⁷ and at the end of the twelfth century, the ecclesiastical privileges enjoyed by the kings of Hungary (and Sicily) were cited in the dispute between Henry II of England and archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury.⁸

Hungarian precedents even made a lasting contribution to the development of the canon law relating to crusaders' vows. In the last decade of the twelfth century King Béla III (1172–96) swore that he would go on crusade. Death prevented him from keeping his vow, but he bequeathed a substantial amount of money to his younger son, on the condition that he lead a campaign to the Holy Land in his stead. It was Prince Andrew's reluctance to fulfil his father's vow that led Pope Innocent III to issue his important decretal, *Licet universis*, which soon became the keystone of canonical regulation concerning the inheritability of the crusader's vow.⁹

⁴ Cf. GERICS 1980, 111–34.

⁵ Pope Gregory VII's letter to Solomon, mentioned above (at n. 2): "Nam sicut a maioribus patrie tue cognoscere potes, regnum Ungarie sancte Romane ecclesie proprium est a rege Stephano olim beato PETRO cum omni iure et potestate sua oblatum et devote traditum. Preterea Heinricus pie memorie imperator ad honorem sancti PETRI regnum illud expugnans victo rege et facta victoria ad corpus beati PETRI lanceam coronamque transmisit et pro gloria triumphi sui illuc regni direxit insignia, quo principatum dignitatis eius attinere cognovit." MGH Reg. Greg. I, 145.

⁶ Pope Gregory VII's letter of 17 April 1075 to Prince Géza (ii. 70): "Verum ubi contempto nobili dominio beati PETRI apostolorum principis, cuius regnum esse prudentiam tuam latere non credimus, rex subdidit se Teutonico regi et reguli nomen obtinuit. Dominus autem iniuriam suo illatam principi providens potestatem regni suo ad te iudicio transtulit. Et ita, si quid in obtinendo regno iuris prius habuit, a se sacrilega usurpatione privavit." Ibid., I, 230). Cf. ULLMANN 1978, 140.

⁷ Legenda sancti Stephani regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta, edited by Emma Bartoniek, in *SRH*, II (1938), 401–40; VÁCZY 1934; Váczy 1935, 92–115; I. TÓTH, 1942.

⁸ Györfy 1969, 45–46; GERICS 1987, 231; DEÉR. Together with Györfy and Gerics, I cannot agree with Deér's statement that the concept in question was brought from Sicily by Hartvic.

⁹ Pope Innocent III's letter of 29 January 1198 to Prince Andrew: "Accepimus siquidem, quod cum inclite recordationis B(ela) quondam rex Ungarie, pater tuus, ageret in extremis et de sua penitus convalescentia desperaret, votum, quo voverat Domino Ierosolimitanam provinciam in forti manu et brachio extento, corde tamen humili et humiliato spiritu visitare, sub interminatione maledictionis paterne commisit tue fidei exsequendum." HAGENEDER-HAIDACHER, 1964 I, 10 (p. 17); SWEENEY 1981, 473–75; BRUNDAGE 1969, 87 and 139.

In a similar way, Andrew II's alienation of royal property raised the question of the legality of such practices. On his ascent to the throne, soon after the events that gave rise to *Licet universis*, the new king Andrew II (1205–35) satisfied his subjects' demands by transferring many royal estates to them. These large-scale distributions of royal goods were called *novae institutiones* in Hungary and the king seemed to regard the practice as a royal program.¹⁰ This impelled Pope Honorius III to write his famous decretal *Intellecto iamdudum*, which later became part of Pope Gregory IX's *Liber Extra* (the Gregorian *Decretales* of 1234), and so transmitted the theory of the inalienability of royal, that is, crown, property all over Europe.¹¹ As these examples demonstrate, every European monarchy contributed something to the formation of the concept of the royal office within its own borders.¹²

Theories about the state, or rather about the ideal king, were spread to Hungary along with Christianity.¹³ One particular genre of this literature was the *Speculum*, or mirror of princes, first composed during the Carolingian period. In the course of listing the required virtues of the ideal monarch, it also revealed its view of the state. But after a short flourish, it tended to become stereotyped, and by c. 1000 it contained only commonplace utterances, often without much sign of originality.¹⁴ In contrast, King Stephen's *Institutiones*, composed for his son, the first work concerned with the theory of the state to be written in Hungary, show a surprising liveliness both in their form and in their content.¹⁵ In composing the *Institutiones*, King Stephen's anonymous collaborator established a new tradition within which the theory of the Christian monarchy could be developed. Both the saint king's biographies, compiled in the court, and the Hungarian Chronicle, compiled in different segments at different times, could be classified as a form of *Speculum* literature.¹⁶ These compositions held up a mirror to the rul-

¹⁰ HORVÁTH 1971, 357–58. That this program was formulated on the level of the ideal monarch is clearly shown by an example of an *arenga* from 1214: “Cum inter universa virtutum genera regiam maiestatem adornancia largitas tota pre ceteris prepolleat et primatum videatur obtinere, regie benignitatis inter<est> videlicet illos pre ceteris honoribus sublimare, pro quibus fidelium servitorum longanimitas intercedit et experta probitas dignoscitur allegare.” Érszegi 1975, 96. A selection of *arengae* in royal charters from the period of Andrew II dealing with royal generosity is given in BARTAL 1847, 2: 110.

¹¹ Pope Honorius III to the archbishop of Kalocsa: “Hungariae rex ... alienationes quasdam fecerit in praeiudicium regni sui et contra regis honorem.” *Liber Extra*, 2,24,33 (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2 vols., edited by E. FRIEDBERG 1879–1881, II, col. 373); RIESENBERG 1956, 13–14, 100–101; BÓNIS 1975.

¹² On the ideology of kingship, see esp. EWIG 1956 and KANTOROWICZ 1957, still basic works of reference for this subject.

¹³ The most detailed work on the concept of the ideal king in medieval Hungary is VON VÁCZY, 1934.

¹⁴ BALOGH 1938, 389–98, esp. 391–92.

¹⁵ *Libellus de institutione morum*, see HAVAS 2008. On it, see SZÜCS 1988.

¹⁶ *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, edited by A. Domanovszky, in *SRH* 1, 218–505; see the new bilingual edition in IC. For the separation of different textual layers created in different periods, see above BAK/GRZ.: A good English summary of this question is given by MACARTNEY, 1938–1940 and MACARTNEY, 1953. RÓNAY 1941, 325–30 divided early medieval Hungarian Latin literature into two categories, courtly and monastic.

ing monarch: they could be exemplary or deterrent. This sort of writing formed part of a continuous tradition: its authors not only knew their predecessors' works, they used them as sources and often discussed their arguments.

The aim of the present study is to explore the connection between the ideal and the real in the development of the image of kingship in twelfth-century Hungary. I have chosen the description of King Ladislav (1077–95) in the *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis* and its parallel passages in the IC as the focus of my analysis. These texts provides a good opportunity for identifying the real king who provided the model upon which the anonymous biographer who wrote the legend at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries constructed his image of the ideal king.¹⁷ Central to this argument is an examination of the description of the physical excellence of St. Ladislav.

King Ladislav was the last representative in Hungary of the traditional ideal king of the early Middle Ages. According to Bishop Hartvic, Ladislav *administrabat rem publicam*¹⁸ after the death of King Géza I (1074–7), but he was not crowned, since the legitimate king—Solomon, son of King Andrew I—was still alive. Although Ladislav was regarded as a saint in Hungary at least sixty or seventy years before his canonization,¹⁹ Pope Urban II, apparently condemning the traditional king-ideal with his severe words, described Ladislav as a bad ruler, during whose reign the Hungarian people wandered from the true path and the kingdom withdrew from obedience to the Holy See.²⁰ Nevertheless, Ladislav was later canonized, on the basis of local veneration, presumably within the framework of a by then elaborate process,²¹ one hundred years after the first canonizations in Hungary. The formal canonization took place in 1192, during the reign of Béla III. This provided the occasion for composing the *Life of St. Ladislav*.

Two versions of the legend are known, one more detailed than the other. Emma Bartoniek convincingly argued that the two versions are independent of one another, though both can be traced back to a single original *vita*, written at the turn of

¹⁷ *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis*, edited by E. Bartoniek, *SRH* 2, esp. 507–27; new bi-lingual edition in *CEMT* 7 (forthc.). See also *GERICS* 1973, 273–303.

¹⁸ The sources close to the period of St. Ladislav are generally cautious in judging his reign. According to the early twelfth-century St. Emeric-legend, “tunc temporis Pannonie prefuit” (*Legenda sancti Emerici ducis*, E. Bartoniek, ed. *SRH* 2, 441–60, cf. also *CEMT* 7 (forthc.)).

¹⁹ The tradition was recorded by “Gallus Anonymus”: “Dicunt talem numquam regem Ungariam habuisse, neque terram iam post eum fructuosam sic fuisse” (see cap. 27, *CEMT* 3, 96). Quoted and explained by *GERICS* 1973, 294.

²⁰ Pope Urban's letter of 27 July 1096 to King Coloman: “Tam diu enim Ungarorum populi errorum devia sunt secuti et derelictis sue salutis pastoribus alienorum gregum vestigiis adhererunt; ... iam diu regnum tuum ab Apostolice Sedis obedientia descivit et erroris huius principibus ac ministris deditum per latioris vie devia seductum est.” See: BAUMGARTEN, 1906), 389–411, esp. 407–409; cf. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* ed. 2, S. Lowenfeld *et al.* eds. 5662 (Leipzig 1885); VÁCZY 1935, 100–101.

²¹ R. KISS 1939, 159–69; on the evaluation of the late tradition, see *GERICS* 1961, 105.

the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries, and relying on an even earlier Hungarian chronicle as its principal source. The legend counted among its sources Bishop Hartvic's Life of St. Stephen, the St. Emeric-legend, and perhaps also King Stephen's *Institutiones*. The more detailed version is known from two fifteenth-century codices, whereas the shorter one is found in two manuscripts, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively, and also in a fifteenth-century incunabulum. Whereas the two codices of the longer text reveal an almost literal correspondence with one another, the texts of the shorter version were independently transcribed and derive independently from a single archetype.²² Beyond its value for cultural history, this legend has an important place in Hungarian historiography, since it proves that a version of the Hungarian Chronicle was in existence in the late twelfth century.²³ As Emma Bartoniek has pointed out, the main tendency of the legend is an almost extreme definition of the concept of the ruler's suitability.²⁴ József Gerics showed the differences between the descriptions of Ladislás in the IC and in the legend. Composed when it was, the chronicle could not depict the king as a *rex iustus*—since he was technically an usurper, ruling in opposition to the legitimately crowned king—so it focused instead on his piety. The legend, in striking contrast to the ideas of the chronicle, sought to depict its hero as the embodiment of *largitas*, generosity.²⁵ This change from an emphasis on piety to one on generosity very probably reflects the conditions of the time in which the legend was composed. In opposing his elder brother Emeric (and Emeric's son, Ladislás III), King Andrew II insisted on the principle of suitability for the throne. What is more, he made the *generalis distributio* the nucleus of his royal program. The close similarity between the virtues of suitability and generosity attributed to Ladislás in the legend and the claims and policies of Andrew II strongly suggest that the author of the new Ladislás image composed his *Vita* at the beginning of King Andrew's reign.²⁶

The most important source of this legend was an early version of the royal chronicle, the text of which is more or less preserved in the IC. It describes Ladislás as a king endowed with all the virtues (*vestitum consummatione virtutum*),²⁷ of the Catholic faith (*fide catholicum*), excelling in piety (*pietate precipuum*), munificent in his generosity (*largitate munificum*), and outstanding in charity (*caritate conspicuum*). This catalogue is followed by a eulogy consisting of six quotations from the Old Testa-

²² BARTONIEK, Praefatio, in *SRH* 2, 509–14.

²³ GERICS 1973, 273.

²⁴ BARTONIEK, Praefatio, 513. Her results were improved by GERICS 1961, 88–112.

²⁵ GERICS 1973, 281–84.

²⁶ The year 1205 seems certainly to be the *terminus post quem*. GUOTH 1944, 42; GERICS 1973, 291.

²⁷ Philologists do not seem to have noticed that this expression is a biblical reminiscence: Ladislás was given the totality of virtues like Simon, the high priest, representative of God's chosen people, in the Book of Ben Sirach. Going to the altar, Simon put on the robes of glory and sanctity for the sacrifice so as to be clothed in the totality of virtues ("vestiri eum consummatione virtutis." Eccli. 50:11).

ment book of Ben Sirach, which was quite popular in the Middle Ages. The first three quotations describe the high priest Simon, who built the Temple, protected his people from destruction, and defended the city from its enemies. The final three refer to King David, who was the chief biblical archetype of the medieval king. He was as bright and gleaming as the clarified lard; he played with lions and bears without fear, killed Goliath, and expelled the foes of his people.²⁸ Although Ladislav could not assume the crown, his outstanding virtues made it clear to everybody that he was the only one suitable for the throne.²⁹ The conception of the chronicle therefore dovetailed with the intentions of the hagiographer in that it placed emphasis on the concept of suitability (*idoneitas*) for ruling.³⁰ The references to King David in this context are not at all accidental, since he represented the principle that God is the source of royal power, and that it is He who confers it on His chosen one.³¹ The chronicle's description of St. Emeric provided the hagiographer with another point of reference for the image of the ideal king. Emeric's catalogue of virtues begins with the following declaration: "Because of his divine endowments he towered over ordinary human nature," implying that he was destined to be king because of his divinely-conferred talents.³² According to János Bollók, these arguments are interlinked and demonstrate their author's attachment to the theory of suitability.³³

Following a detailed study of the relevant literature, Kálmán Guoth in 1944 defined what he saw as the novelty of twelfth-century literature as the development of a "gothic" mentality, in which the ideal and the real came closer together, and the spiritual had a flesh and blood counterpart.³⁴ The Legend of St. Ladislav enlarged the catalogue of the virtues that it received from its source, divided the virtues into three categories, and then embarked on a polemic about generosity, which it considered the most important.³⁵ Apart from its polemical tone, the other significant development of

²⁸ "Omnes enim noverant ipsum esse vestitum consumatione virtutum, fide catholicum, pietate precipuum, largitate munificum, caritate conspicuum. Emicuit quippe quasi stella matutina in medio nebule, fugans tedia tenebrarum et quasi luna plena lucet in diebus suis, velut etiam sol refulgens, sic effulsit in populo suo; quasi adeps separatus a carne. Et cum leonibus et ursibus (sic) lusit, quasi cum agnis ovium. Numquid non occidit gygantem et abstulit obprobrium ex Israel? Convertit enim inimicos suos undique et extirpavit adversarios. Erat enim magnus ..." (SRH 1, 404; IC 244 the scriptural quotations are: Eccli. 47:2; 47:8; 50:6).

²⁹ "Et quamvis ipsum Hungari in regem absque voluntate sua elegerunt, nunquam tamen in capite suo coronam posuit, propter quod potius celestem coronam optabat, quam terrenam et vivi regis coronam. Sed usque legitime coronari et coronam habere noluit in eius animo, ut si firma pax inter eos esse posset, regnum Salomoni redderet et ipse ducatum haberet" (SRH 1, 404–5, IC 244).

³⁰ GERICS 1961, 88–112; BOLLÓK 1986, 61–75, 309–13.

³¹ SCHRAMM 1963, 229–55. For David and the kings of the Old Testament, see 234–40.

³² "Supra communem naturam hominum divino munere sublimatus" (SRH 1, 319; IC 124)

³³ BOLLÓK 1986.

³⁴ GUOTH 1944, 40.

³⁵ In his source he read that *pietas* was Ladislav's main virtue: GERICS 1973, 281–84.

the legend compared to its source is the strong emphasis on Ladislás's physical excellence. Kálmán Guoth thought that this image described the figure of the ideal knight;³⁶ but if the text is scrutinized carefully, much more than an *exemplum* of chivalric prowess can be deduced from it. The following description (considered to be a true description of the king's physical appearance by many scholars) occurs at the end of the first enumeration of virtues:

Through the special privilege of excellence the grace of divine mercy had raised him above ordinary human values in his physical qualities. For he had powerful hands and an attractive appearance, with limbs as huge as a lion's; just as the plenitude of endowments exuberated in him so his very appearance, his great height, towering head and shoulders above the rest of men, proclaimed him worthy of the royal diadem. Even when he saw himself lauded for such distinguished qualities, he did not swell with pride or seize the rights of others either by trickery or by violence...³⁷

This description occurs in the same position in both the longer and shorter text, but the emphasis of the Major Legend is probably closer to that the primary source than the Minor Legend.³⁸ Corroborative evidence relating to the physical appearance of Ladislás is found in the chronicle of the so-called Gallus Anonymus, which records that the king was *eminens corpore*.³⁹ The legend's description may well have had a solid foundation in fact. Yet the minute naturalism of the description should put us on guard. Contemporaneously with the composition of the Ladislás legend another work, the *Gesta Hungarorum*, was written by Master P., the Hungarian Anonymus, and it tells the story of the Hungarians' settlement in Hungary.⁴⁰ Its protagonists are the Hungarian princes, one after the other. The first is Prince Álmos's, father of Árpád and ancestor of

³⁶ GUOTH 1944, 44.

³⁷ "In naturalibus autem bonis divine miserationis gratia speciali cum prerogativa preeminentie supra communem hominum valorem pretulerat. Erat enim manu fortis et visu desiderabilis et secundum phisonomiam leonis magnas habens extremitates, statura quippe procerus ceterisque hominibus ab humero supra preeminens ita, quod exuberante in ipso donorum plenitudine ipsa quoque corporis species regio dyademate dignum ipsum declararet. Cum vero tanta bonorum preeminencia se videret gloriosum, non in superbie tumorem est elevatus, non aliorum iura dolose seu violenter occupavit..." (Legenda sancti Ladislai regis, *SRH* 2, 517, CEMT 7, forthc.).

³⁸ There is a clear difference between the Minor Legend's assertion of his divine endowments (*donorum plenitudinem*) and the Major Legend's declaration of his suitability for the crown (*regio dyademate dignum*): "exuberantem in ipso donorum plenitudinem ipsa quoque corporis species imperio digna declararet" (Minor Legend); "ipsa quoque corporis species regio dyademate dignum ipsum declararet" (Major Legend).

³⁹ GERICS 1973, 294.

⁴⁰ P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, *Gesta Hungarorum*, edited by Ae. Jakubovich, with notes by D. Pais, *SRH* 1, 13–117, cf. SILÁGI 1991 and the new bi-lingual edition, CEMT 5. On the age of the author, see SZILÁGYI 1938, and HORVÁTH 1971.

the Árpád dynasty. He is described thus: "Álmos himself was handsome of face, but of swarthy complexion; he had black eyes, but they were large; he was tall and slim, but he had large hands and his fingers were thick. He was at the same time pious, benevolent, wise, and a good soldier, and he generously and gladly bestowed gifts upon all who were soldiers in Scythia at that time."⁴¹ No doubt, there is a relationship between the two descriptions. It is remarkable, though, that in regard to physical characteristics, Prince Álmos excelled in the same royal virtues as the King Ladislav of the legend; what is more, both descriptions start with the same expression, *erat enim*. Chronicler and hagiographer are both describing a particular physical type; there was in front of their mental eyes someone whose physical appearance was considered to be possessed by the dynasty in general, and this image was projected back to their respective heroes.⁴² The late twelfth-century Béla III was a Hungarian sovereign whose really "kingly" stature was noticed by his contemporaries. In his account of Frederick Barbarossa's reception in Esztergom, for example, Richard, canon of Holy Trinity, London, described King Béla's physical appearance in words reminiscent of the later Ladislav legend. "Béla, the Hungarian king, went forth joyfully to meet the emperor. He is a man showered by nature with a great many endowments: very tall, with a striking countenance, who would be deemed most worthy of rule by the elegance of his commanding countenance alone, even if the rest were lacking."⁴³ Richard's description was neither a literary convention nor courtly exaggeration. In 1848, Béla's tomb was opened and his skeleton displayed impressive anthropometrical features. According to calculations based on measurements of the skeletal remains, the king would have been 190–192 cm tall. A giant of a man, by medieval standards! It is possible that the Hungarian Holy Crown was made for Béla, and its circumference of 72 cm was too large for all of his successors. The cir-

⁴¹ "Erat enim Almus facie decorus, sed niger et nigros habebat oculos, sed magnos, statura longus et gracilis, [...] manus vero habebat grossas et digitos prolixos et erat ipse Almus pius, benivolus, largus, sapiens, bonus miles, hylaris dator omnibus illis, qui in regno Scithice (sic) tunc tempore erant milites" (*SRH* 1, 39; *CEMT* 5, 14). In his commentary, Gabriel Silagi rightly emphasizes that the expressions of the description come from the work of Dares Phrygius, one of Master P's main sources (*SILAGI* 1991, 143). Although these expressions were used to describe different persons, it is reasonable to suppose that the actual characteristics of a particular king dictated the selection of particular expressions for application to him. Horváth, in fact, thought that he recognized the characteristics of Andrew II in the ideal monarch described as Álmos (*HORVÁTH* 1971, 359). It is useful, however, to examine the paragraph containing the prophecy describing the emperor of Doomsday: "Hic erit statura grandis, aspectu decorus, vultu splendidus atque per singula membrorum lineamenta decenter compositus" (quoted by *ABRAMOWSKI*, 1987, 224). This evidence and similar material listed in Károly Solyom's article (*SÓLYOM* 1982), shows the existence of standard elements in the description, which should also be evaluated.

⁴² *SÓLYOM* 1982, 147–94.

⁴³ "Rex Hungarorum Bela nomine in occursum cesaris letus procedit, vir quidam multiplici nature dote conditus, statura productior, vultu insignis, cui et si cetera non suppetere, sola imperiosi vultus elegantia regno dignissima censeretur" (*Ex Ricardi Londoniensis itinerario peregrinorum*, *MGH SS*, XXVII [Hanover: Hahn, 1885], 200); cf. *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 44. For the Anglo–Hungarian relations at that time, see. *FEST*, 1969, 12–15; *LASZLOVSKY* 1988, 217–31.

cumference of the gem-set ring which he received as a gift from Anne of Antioch had to be enlarged from 5.7 cm to 7.2 cm so that it would fit his finger—a telling confirmation of Master P's description of the thick fingers of Álmos.⁴⁴

Manus vero habebat grossas—wrote Master P. about Álmos, and the hagiographer describes Ladislás as follows: *secundum phisonomiam leonis magnas habens extremitates*. This lion-metaphor has been discussed by many scholars, but its origin has not been established so far, and it has been difficult for translators to provide a fully satisfactory interpretation of the phrase. Many scholars believe that the source of the visual image should be sought in one of the bestiaries, but it has not yet been found in literature relating to physiology.⁴⁵ In consequence of the failure to find a specific source for the lion-image, it has been proposed that the textual variant found in the Esztergom and Pannonhalma breviaries, which compares their hero to King Priam instead of a lion, should be considered the most direct descendent of the original. The figure of Priam was indeed very well known from the Trojan cycle at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴⁶ More profound resonances can be discovered by analyzing the expressions *phisonomia* and *extremitates*, however. These are technical terms in physiognomical literature.⁴⁷ Aristotle is the source of the idea that the good and bad qualities of the individual members of a species should be expressed in physical marks, and recognition of these physical marks permits deductions to be made about their inner qualities. In his work on the theory of syllogisms (*Analytica priora*, II. 27), Aristotle writes as follows:

For if a particular affection (natural quality) is peculiar to any individual class, as courage is to lions, it must be expressed by some physical sign, for it has been assumed that [body and soul] are affected together. Let this be having large extremities, which are not found in other classes as a whole. For a sign is specific in the sense that the affection is peculiar to the class as a whole, and not to it alone, as we are accustomed to use the term. Thus this sign will be found with other classes as well, and a man or some other animal [having large extremities] will be courageous.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ VAJAY 1974, 339–73, esp. 361 and the further references cited there.

⁴⁵ *Die Heiligen Könige* 1976, 188–89 n. 12; MEZEY 1980, 19–55, esp. p. 27.

⁴⁶ MEZEY 1980, 27–31. Textual variants were edited by FODOR 1980, 57–72. For a different view, see SZELESTEI 1984, 176–203.

⁴⁷ SCHMIDT 1941, coll. 1064–74.

⁴⁸ “Si enim est specialiter alicui generi individuo existens passio, ut leonibus fortitudo, necesse est et signum esse aliquod; compati autem sibi invicem positum est. Et sit hoc magnas summitates habere, quod et aliis generibus non totis contingit. Nam signum sic proprium est, quoniam totius generis propria est passio, et non solius proprium, sicut solemus dicere. Erit ergo et in alio genere hoc, et erit fortis homo et aliud aliquod animal.” *Arist. Lat.* III, 1–4: 139 and 191. Note that both variants of the Boethius translation (recensio Florentina and recensio Camutensis) agree with one another at this point, but they differ from the text of our legend in

This description seems to have been especially appropriate for Béla III, whom troubadours described as “bigfoot.”⁴⁹ The legend reveals much more than the fact that Ladislav’s limbs were as big as a lion’s, however. The author of the legend could have added another quality to the list of his hero’s virtues—one which was strangely missing from the list of virtues in the legend, but which emerged as an additional endowment with Master P.—that is, valor or courage. Therefore I would suggest that the phrase *secundum phisonomiam leonis* should be translated as follows: “in conformity with a lion’s physical appearance.” If we accept this interpretation, we can find two places in the legend and the chronicle where the strict coherence between inner and physical qualities is stressed.⁵⁰ But one should not search the Legend of Ladislav for physical fitness as an element in suitability for the throne, since it did not play any role in that judgment.⁵¹ Physical appearance was only a sign on the basis of which someone could be considered suitable. The prayers contained in the masses for kings in the Codex Pray, compiled ca. 1200, provide valuable evidence on the contemporary concept of suitability.⁵² These prayers support my view on the extent of sacral legitimation.

respect of the expression *extremities*, reading *summitates* for it. Unfortunately, the last chapter of the *Translatio Anonyma* is lost, but the scholion added to the text contains the variant *magnas habere superiores extremities* (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 371). A significant part of the later textual tradition of the Latin Aristotle suggests that the text of the Ladislav legend had ancient and deep roots, and it is thus possible that the *extremities* variant occurred in the lost chapter of the *Translatio Anonyma*. Cf. Recensio Iustiniani Chii, ex editione Veneta, 1560 (*Arist. Lat.* p. 396); Transl. Rasarii, ex editione Veneta, 1544 (*Arist. Lat.* 408); Transl. Durii et Gruchii, ex editione Parisina, 1551–52 et 1567 (*Arist. Lat.* 414); Editio Carpentarii, ex editione Parisiensis, 1567–68 (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 417); Transl. Rubii, ex editione Duacensi, 1564 (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 421); Transl. Pacii, ex editione Morgiensis, 1584 (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 421); Transl. Hildenii, ex editione Berolinensi, 1585–86 (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 423); Transl. Monlorii, ex editione Francofurtensi, 1593 (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 425); Transl. Buhlii, ex editione Bipontina, 1792 (*Arist. Lat.*, p. 428): all these versions have the *magnas habere extremities* variant. The *Analytica Priora* was well known in the twelfth century; Otto of Freising and John of Salisbury must have read it. In his *Metalogicon*, IV, 5, John of Salisbury expresses certain doubts about the validity of II, 27 (SALISBURY 1929, 170; cf. *Arist. Lat.*, p. 440): “grande quidem capitulum ... fidem tamen promissi nequaquam implet; unum scio, me huius capituli beneficio neminem in cognitione naturarum vidisse perfectum.”

⁴⁹ VAJAY 1974, 361.

⁵⁰ “habitu corporis et animi,” “decere sui corporis et mentis” (Legenda sancti Ladislai regis, *SRH* 2, 515–16; CEMT 7, forthc.).

⁵¹ Some scholars separate corporal and spiritual suitability, but without any reason, e.g., KRISTÓ 1974, 585–621.

⁵² “Quesumus Omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus, rex noster, N., qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum et omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus et vicia monstra devitare et hostes superare et ad te, qui via, veritas et vita es, graciosus valeat pervenire.” – “Hec ... salutaris sacramenti perceptio peccatorum nostrorum maculas diluat et regem nostrum, N., ad regendum secundum tuam voluntatem populum idoneum reddat, ut hoc salutari mysterio contra visibiles et invisibiles hostes reddatur invictus, per quod mundus est divina dispensatione redemptus.” – “Deus regnorum omnium et Christiani maxime protector imperii, da servo tuo, regi nostro, triumphum virtutis tue scienter excolere, ut qui tua constitutione est princeps, tuo semper munere sit potens.” “Deus, qui predicando eterni regni evangelium Christianorum imperium dilatasti, pretende famulo tuo, regi nostro N., arma celestia, ut pax ecclesiarum nulla turbetur tempestate bellorum.” (Codex Prayanus [Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Nyelvelmékek, I], fos. 107^{r-v}. See RADÓ 1947, 52.

"He was huge of body and stood head and shoulders above the others"—so runs the legend. Hence it was God—the source and granter of all royal power—who marked out Ladislás, with all his spiritual and physical if not superhuman qualities, to rule, and formed him to His likeness to show whose *vicarius* the king is on the earth. Emma Bartoniek observed that this idea had its origins in twelfth- and thirteenth-century theories about the state. John of Salisbury's good king, for example, was described, like Ladislás in the Hungarian legend, *ab humeris sursum supereminebat universum populum*. Henry Bracton's king also appears in the likeness of the Creator to prove whose deputy on earth he is.⁵³ As shown above, the description of St. Emeric in the Hungarian Chronicle provided an important image for the author of the legend, since Emeric "because of divine endowments towered over ordinary human nature." The image of Saul was certainly used as a model by John of Salisbury, the Hungarian Chronicle and the Ladislás-legend, but the extraordinary physical appearance of a living monarch could also encourage the development of such a theory.⁵⁴

There is another part of the description which has not been exploited so far by philologists. According to the Ladislás description quoted above, the king was *manu fortis et visu desiderabilis*. In the light of what has been said above, this expression fitted both King Béla III and the Ladislás of the legend (so described after the model of Béla). But the text has more to claim: the handsome king takes after the biblical predecessor of the medieval kings. Moreover, he is the new David for his people, who was so comely and handsome according to the biblical description (*erat autem rufus et pulcher aspectu decoraque facie*) that linguists argue that his name, David, which could be interpreted as "desirable," was a nickname. According to medieval etymologies, the expression *manu fortis et visu desiderabilis* became the hallowed etymology of David's name. Thus it is found in Jerome's treatise on Hebrew names,⁵⁵ in Pseudo-Rufinus's commentaries on the Psalms,⁵⁶ in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*,⁵⁷ in the eleventh-century *Deliberatio* by

⁵³ "Providentia nimirum conditoris, qui speciosus forma pre filiis hominum et innumerabilis sapientie describitur, sic ad similitudinem suam in operis sui vicario bone spei ac venture dignitatis fundamenta coniecit, ut ex prima compositione decore sui corporis et mentis elegans puer ostenderet, cuius vicem adultus tenere natus esset" (*Legenda sancti Ladislai regis*, *SRH* 2, 516, CEMT 7, forthc.); BARTONIEK 1936, 359–406, esp. 377.

⁵⁴ I Reg. 9:2. Cf. IPOLYI 1854, 169; SZILÁRD 1926, 17; BARTONIEK 1936, 377; SÓLYOM 1982, 174.

⁵⁵ "David fortis manu sive desiderabilis." (*Liber de interpretatione Hebraeorum nominum*, I Reg. B-E, *Sancti Hieronymi Opera*, I: Opera exegetica, 1, edited by P. de Lagarde, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 72 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1959], 103).

⁵⁶ "Verus David id est visu desiderabilis" (Pseudo-Rufinus, *Commentarius in Psalmum* 75, 13, 2 tit., MPL, XXI, col. 649^D).

⁵⁷ "David fortis manu, utique quia fortissimus in proeliis fuit. Ipse et desiderabilis ..." (*Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, edited by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. [Oxford: OUP, 1911/1966], lib. VII, 6, 64).

Bishop St. Gerard of Csanád,⁵⁸ and also in the thirteenth-century Pécs sermons.⁵⁹ In place of this expression, one can read *manu robustus et reverendi admodum vultus* in a recently-published legend of St. Ladislav from Graz and also in the fifteenth-century sermons by Pelbárt of Temesvár, whereas *manu fortis magnas habens scapulas*, etc., is found in breviaries, that is, in the official liturgical compilations that have interpreted and adjusted the original text. I am convinced that the more detailed text published by Bartonek should be considered the most direct descendent of the original. This argument is also supported by the *lectio difficilior* principle.⁶⁰ It would be very strange if there were no references to King David in the description of Ladislav. Even the first Hungarian *Speculum*—King Stephen's *Institutiones*—admonished Prince Emeric to follow the kings of the Old Testament, and it mentions King David several times.⁶¹ When King Andrew I ascended the throne after the first pagan revolt, he had his sons christened Solomon and David, which shows that both the king and his court had a great reverence for the Old Testament kings. József Gerics found the liturgical source of this reverence in the so-called Egbert coronation *ordo*, which was probably used in eleventh-century Hungary. The *ordo* refers to Solomon at the moment of the king's anointing, and to David when the sceptre is given to the king (*Daviticum ... sceptrum*), and it recalled also the peaceful reign of King Solomon. Gerics rightly concludes that 'the name (Solomon) planted the biblical action into a Hungarian environment and the Hungarian prince's coronation was given a biblical perspective'.⁶² According to the Minor Legend of St. Stephen, God helped the king to avoid the Pecheneg danger in the same way that He had helped King David against the Philistines.⁶³ As we have seen, references to.

⁵⁸ "David manu fortis et desiderabilis est noster Christus" (*Gerardi Moresenae aecllesiae seu Csanadiensis episcopi Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*, edited by G. Silagi, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 57.

⁵⁹ "Dico ergo, quod David interpretatur manu fortis sive visu desiderabilis": *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in Regno Ungarie*. Editionem ab Eduardo Petrovich inchoatam curavit Paulus Ladislaus Timkovics. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, SN XIV. (Budapest: Akadémia K.-Argumentum, 1993) p. 103. For a discussion of the date of the sermons, see TIMKOVICS, 1979. For further examples of the David-etymology, see *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, III (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow: PAN, 1969) col. 401, s.v. desiderabilis; *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, Fasc. 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), col. F 343, s.v. fortis, etc.

⁶⁰ For the legend in Graz, see SZELESTEI 1984, 186–87; Pelbartus de Temesvár, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis hyemales et estivales ... Pars aestivalis* (Hagenau, 1505), XIV, F; see FODOR 1980, 65.

⁶¹ "Regale ornamentum scio esse maximum antecessores reges et honestos imitari parentes ... Grave enim tibi est huius climatis tenere regnum, nisi imitator consuetudinis ante regnantium extiteris regum" (*Libellus de institutione morum*, p. 626). This work refers to the example of either Solomon or David in every other chapter: cf. SZÜCS 1988.

⁶² GERICS 1984, 243–54, esp., 254; an English translation by Miklós Lojkó is available on academia.edu/11977779/.

⁶³ "Sicut enim Deus christum suum David quondam a facie Philistinorum angelo suo protegente liberavit, ita et hunc de manu persequentium eripuit ..." (*Legenda Sancti Stephani regis*, SRH 2, 398).

King David are important in the description of Ladislás in the IC. In another passage in the same chronicle, dating from the time of Géza II (1141–1162), which condemns the reign of Stephen II (1116–31) and severely castigates King Coloman, who ordered the blinding of Géza's father, Béla II (1131–41). Stephen II is described in these words: "The king thought that his wisdom amounted to that of Solomon, his strength to that of Samson, and his valor to that of David, but he was not their equal."⁶⁴ Not only were prelates and secular nobles weighing the king's suitability for rule against the measure of the Old Testament kings, the king was doing the same himself. A charter issued by King Andrew in 1233 shows the persistence of the image of David in royal circles.⁶⁵ The appearance of this concept in our legend is therefore very significant.

In summary, one can conclude that the author of our legend recalled the image of David as he was re-working his chronicle source, but he chose a more scientific method than his source in using the etymology of the name of David to project a particular image on to Ladislás.⁶⁶ King David, the historical predecessor of the lion of Juda, might have inspired the lion-metaphor,⁶⁷ but it is also possible that the author's inspiration can be traced back to the lion as the symbol of royal supremacy.⁶⁸ He derived the

⁶⁴ "Putabatque rex in consilio equalem se Salomoni, in fortitudine Samsoni, in audacia David, sed illis equalis non erat" (SRH I, 436, IC 284–5); see HORVÁTH 1954, 274. Because of its irony, the paragraph is thought to date from the time of King Stephen III (1162–1172).

⁶⁵ "Sedens (sc. S. Stephanus) itaque in cathedra cum David sapientissimus princeps omne malum infidelitatis secundum illa tempora ... suo intuitu dissipavit" (*Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, I, edited by R. Marsina [Bratislava: Acad. Sc. Slova, 1971], p. 299); cf. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, I, compiled by I. Szentpétery (Budapest: MTA, 1923), no. 501.

⁶⁶ The evidence of the sermons composed by Bishop Benedict of Nagyvárad on St. Ladislás, proves that he had access to both the chronicle and the legends. In his first sermon, the bishop tells us that among the characteristics of a noble person, "prima est, quod sit magnanimus ad agrediendum ardua, sicut fuit David, qui Golyam interfecit et ursum ac leonem superavit. Talis autem fuit beatus Ladizlaus, qui fuit miles probissimus et audacissimus" (LUKCSICS, 1930, 30). The bishop then quotes Aristotle (dicit Aristoteles de leone ...) and Pseudo-Ovid to explain the lion metaphor. The same metaphor was derived from the legend by the author of the Ladislás hymn in the Codex Peer: "Tu corde audax more leonis /ad hoc es dictus 'bátor' (i.e., courageous) Ladislaus" (DANKÓ, 1893, 394). It is possible that Alcuin's letter of 798 could have had a similar literary aim since his king is addressed: "Domino desiderabiliter venerabili et venerabiliter desiderabili David regi salutem." Quoted by the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fasc. III (Oxford: OUP, 1986), p. 629, s.v. *desiderabiliter*.

⁶⁷ Characteristically, the lion is mentioned together with the David-etymology in one of St. Bernard's sermons: "LEO DE TRIBU IUDA, RADIX DAVID. Dicitur enim David desiderabilis vel manu fortis" (*S. Bernardi Opera*, V [Rome, 1968], 85). Cf. SACHS–BADSTÜBNER–NEUMANN, 1988.

⁶⁸ VÁJAY 1974, 371–72. The lions of the coat-of-arms are given an Aragonese origin by Ferenc. Donászy, (DONÁSZY 1935, 24–33). My own suspicion is that the appearance of the lion metaphor in the legend is the result of its general European diffusion. The lion-epithet seems to have been particularly popular at the end of the twelfth century: Henry (Plantagenet) II (1154–1189) is the lion of truth, his son Richard (1189–1199) is the Lion-heart, Henry, duke of Saxony and Bavaria (1156–1180) is the Lion! Master P. describes Prince Taksony using a metaphor taken from Dares: "comam habebat ut leo" (P. magistri *Gesta*, SRH I, 111; CEMT 5, 120). It is possible that the metaphor both of the legend and of Master P. is a reminiscence of the lion-epithet applied to Béla. From the thirteenth century onwards there are a great number of warriors fighting "more leonis," "tamquam leo fortis."

idea of “the reign of King David” (*regnum daviticum*) from the notions connected to the formal royal ideal, an ideal related to his hero’s “royal” appearance, which in itself predestined him to be king. To this concept were added ideas from contemporary discussions of royal power (John of Salisbury, Henry Bracton), and further biblical images of kingship,⁶⁹ rounded off with Aristotle’s views on the significance of physiognomy.

The ideal sovereign’s main task was to fight against enemies visible and invisible. This had to be included in the portrait of Ladislás, too. The sixth chapter of the legend deals with the invasion of Hungary by the Pechenegs and the counter-measures taken by Ladislás. As the king led his army against the invader he found himself in the midst of a vast desert, where famine threatened all of them with death. So the holy king withdrew alone, prostrated himself and prayed for God’s mercy, that “He who once fed the sons of Israel with heavenly manna should not let Christian folk die of hunger.” When he finished praying, a herd of stags and buffaloes appeared and followed him quietly to the camp where the warriors took as many as they needed.⁷⁰ As they heard this story, the audience of the legend must have recalled the story of Moses leading the people of Israel through the wilderness, where they were fed with heavenly manna. The same can be shown in the story of Tonuzoba in Master P.’s *Gesta Hungarorum*. The pagan Tonuzoba revolted against the new Moses, God’s chosen man, St. Stephen, and so he had to die in the same way as those who rebelled against Moses: he was allegedly swallowed up by the earth just as Dathan and Abiram.⁷¹

The first chapter of the legend describes the reign of Ladislás’s father, Béla I (1060–63), in these words: “Thus he ordered and enriched the state; indeed the whole of Pannonia, flourished with an excellence of law, liberty, and abundance not seen since the times of St. Stephen the king.” Ladislás is described as *ius suum unicuique tribuens*.⁷² Master P.’s *Gesta Hungarorum* reports a similarly peaceful and flourishing era; his princes rule *pacifice et potenter* or *pacifice et feliciter*.⁷³ This description echoes the peaceful and calm reign of King Béla III; being a real prince of peace, he accomplished the other main task of the ideal ruler; that is, he created peace in society.

The anonymous author of the Ladislás-legend (as well as Master P.) attached his own concept of the ideal king to St. Ladislás (or to Álmos) and set the long and beneficent reign of Béla III as a model for Béla’s younger son, Andrew II. In his description, special emphasis was laid on the biblical archetypes of medieval kingship included in the theory of suitability. Andrew’s son, Béla IV (1235–70), so named after his grand-

⁶⁹ See also n. 52.

⁷⁰ *Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis*, *SRH* 2, 520–501; CEMT 7, forthc. Cf. HORVÁTH 1928, 22–56, 161–81, 38–41.

⁷¹ SZOVÁK 1991, 1–16. Cf. Num. 16:23–6, 30; Eccus. 45:22–3.

⁷² “... res publica, ymmo tota Pannonia ita ordinata et adaucta floruit, ut post tempora beati Stephani regis legibus, libertate, opulentia numquam tam egregie enituit” (*Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis*, *SRH* 2., 515; CEMT 7, forthc.).

⁷³ See also n. 71.

father, was the king who understood the full significance of this tradition. He regarded his grandfather's reign as an ideal and sought to restore it with all his strength. But new attitudes and greater social mobility had dramatically changed the world, and confronted him with a different society, where the position of the king has greatly changed.⁷⁴

But Béla III's reign had not in fact been as trouble-free as it seemed in retrospect, and the concept of suitability was a dangerous idea. The archbishop of Esztergom had refused to crown him, judging him unsuitable because of his Byzantine associations, and there were disputes with the Church. Since the theory of suitability carried within it the germs of the possibility of the subjects' right of opposition, so the absolutist features of Béla's reign gained their sacral literary legitimation from the theory of power conferred directly by God upon His chosen one.

⁷⁴ Szűcs 1999 and the articles of Váczy and Gerics there cited.

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THE AFTERLIFE OF THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CHRONICLE-COMPOSITIONS¹

Balázs Kertész

Considering that the overwhelming majority of medieval books in Hungary got lost,² and also that the earlier chronicles, as obsolete, have gradually forgotten been and discarded, it is noteworthy that the two Angevin-age chronicle compositions have survived in reasonable numbers, including early printed versions.

CODICES OF THE TWO CHRONICLE FAMILIES

As mentioned above (p. 5), one group of manuscripts, not immediately connected to the IC and representing a slightly different version, is referred to as the Buda Chronicle family. It is not best represented by its eponymic incunabulum, for Hess altered his source in several instances and added chapters taking the story up to his times. Two other codices are more authentic witnesses of the text of this family. The oldest, closest to the version from the age of Charles I, is the “headless” *Codex Acephalus* (now in the OSzK as Cod. Lat. 405), lacking both beginning and end, compiled around 1350–60. The first part of the codex is the chronicle that begins with the words “regnum illud Hungarice Erdely” (chapter 65). It is closest related to the *Codex Sambucus*, but often more detailed; two chapters are close to the IC, and it alone has a chapter on Archbishop Csanád Telegdi. Its treatment of events of 1342 is more detailed than in the *Codex Sambucus*, rather similar to the *Codex Thuróczy* of the IC family.

The other important witness is the late fifteenth-century *Codex Sambucus* (OSzK Cod. Lat. 406.), acquired by the Humanist János Zsámboki/Johannes Sambucus (1531–84) in Italy from the abbot of Pistoia. This is also close to the text of the Buda

¹ A more detailed and fully documented study of mine on this subject appeared as “A 14. századi magyarországi krónikaszerkesztmények utóélete a késő középkorban,” *Századok* 150 (2016), 473–99. The study was supported by the Bolyai János Kutatási Ösztöndíj Research Scholarship (BO/00099/14/2).

² MADAS 2002, 233–34.

Minorite, but begins with the dedication of Simon's *Gesta* (as mentioned above, p. 14). For the events after 1333 it has only short notes about 1342.

Two additional, more or less independent codices can be counted to this family. The *Dubnic Chronicle* (now OSzK Cod. Lat. 165.), relies mainly on the printed text of Hess but augmented with passages borrowed from the IC or one close to it. It continues into the times of King Matthias I Corvinus, including the biography of Louis I by John Küküllö.³ It was written in the fifteenth century, in 1479 at the earliest. The eulogy on the baron Bartholomew Drágfi in the battle of Kosovo Polje and other notes on the family suggest that it may have come from their Transylvanian estates. At some point, it was in the library of the Illésházy family in Dubnica nad Váhom, whence its traditional name.⁴

The *Vatican codex* (BAV Cod. Vat. Lat. 6970.) may have been copied in Dalmatia in the fifteenth century. The truncated manuscript was originally a colligatum, but now contains mainly a text close to the Buda Chronicle, while occasionally closer to the IC than the other members of the family. It reached the Vatican Library via the Dalmatian historian Ioannes Lučić/Lucius (1604–79).

Finally, there are some fragments found in the codex *OSzK Cod. Lat. 324*. The manuscript was used in Hungary around 1500, but the fragments are from a thirteenth-century breviary and a copied chronicle text from ca. 1400, belonging to the Buda family.

The family of the IC consists of four additional witnesses. The *Codex Csepregi* was lost probably in the nineteenth century; its eighteenth-century copy is now in the Teleki-Bolyai Library in Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely (Ms. 50). Written in 1431, it ends exactly where the IC does. Its significance is that Thuróczy used a text very close to it for his printed version.

In the colligatum *Codex Teleki (or Nagyenyedi)*, now in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (K 32. ex Lat. Cod. 4° 12.), the text of the chronicle is followed by this colophon: "This chronicle was begun by Thomas, clerk of N. and I, Antal of Endrefalva son of Pál Ffecz [?] completed it. We wrote it for Benedek, parish priest of Szováta [Sovata] who was born in Szentpétervására. It was copied in the year of the Lord 1462 from the codex of the despot, which had been sent by the most majestic prince king of France to the same Lord Despot as a most magnificent present." Ferenc Toldy, the first editor of the IC believed that the unnamed French king was Charles VII (1422–61) and the despot George (Đurađ) Branković of Serbia (d. 1456), also a great landowner in Hungary, and identified the gift as the IC itself. He assumed that the IC went to France as a gift of Louis I for the engagement of Princess Mary to Louis,

³ SPYCHALA 2011d.

⁴ See CZAMAŃSKA 2010. For its text, see https://archive.org/stream/chronicondubnic00florgoog/chronicondubnic00florgoog_djvu.txt (last accessed 06.03.2018.)

duke of Orléans.⁵ This was later corrected, as the bride-to-be was rather Princess Catherine. This hypothesis, though accepted by many, has several holes. Close textual analysis shows significant differences between the Cod. Teleki text and the IC, and there is no indication that the IC would have been abroad—in France or Serbia—in the Middle Ages. Moreover, it is unlikely that a codex with an incomplete text would have been ever a royal present.

Another fifteenth-century copy, the *Codex Thuróczy* (so named because two seventeenth-century notes identify it with Thuróczy's printed chronicle), is now in the National Széchényi Library (OSzK Cod. Lat. 407). The first sentence records that the copy was begun on 1 October 1467. In contrast to the Csepregi and Teleki codices it completes the last line of the IC (ending in mid-sentence in all others) and adds a chapter on the death and funeral of King Charles and the succession of Louis I. In this, it is close to the Codex Acephalus of the Buda Chronicle family.

The *Codex Béldi* in the Episcopal Library of Eger (U² III. 1.), compiled after 1473, is truncated in several places, especially the beginning and the end. It is closely related to the Codex Csepregi.

EXCERPTS AND SHORT VERSIONS

The fourteenth-century chronicles were also excerpted in the course of their own and the subsequent century into shorter ones, better suited for everyday use. These excerpts seem to have been quite popular, as they were useful for the information of clerics and laymen alike, offering information also to lawyers in the courts and chancelleries. It is not by chance that they were also copied into sixteenth-century law collections.

Some of the known shorter chronicles can be connected to the redaction from Charles I's time. The *Pressburg Chronicle* (*Chronicon Posoniense*) is an excerpt of the text from Charles of Anjou's time, going down to 1330.⁶ It is closely related to the Acephalus-, the Sambucus- and the Vatican-codices but in some points follows the Buda and the Dubnic Chronicle. Some inserts for the 1240–1318 period refer mostly to the southern parts of the kingdom and can be connected to the Újlaki family. It may have been written in Srem, in the surrounding of Ugrin Újlaki *de genere* Csák, one of the major aristocratic supporters of King Charles. It survived in a mixed manuscript from the fifteenth-sixteenth century, now in the library of the cathedral chapter of Bratislava.

The *Vngerische Chronik of Heinrich von Mügeln*.⁷ The German *Meistersinger*, writer and translator (d. after 1369) probably visited the court of Louis I some time between 1356 and 1362, or rather earlier between 1345 and 1347 as recently suggest-

⁵ TOLDY 1867, 7.

⁶ SRH II, 7–51; see SPYCHALA 2010 with lit.

⁷ SRH II, 87–223.; KOTTMANN 2010.

ed.⁸ His Middle High German chronicle, the first vernacular version of the Hungarian Latin chronicles, is based on a text from the Buda Chronicle family and Bishop Hartvic's *Life of St. Stephen*. It is dedicated to Rudolf IV, duke of Austria (1358–65). As mentioned above (p. 184), data on the years 1152–67, missing from the IC, were preserved in this *Chronik*. Nine witnesses are known; one of them, in Wolfenbüttel, contains a note according to which it came there in 1429 from Hungary. A Latin rhymed chronicle, treating Hungarian history to 1072, based on the prose *Vngerische Chronik* and dedicated to Louis I of Hungary has also been ascribed to him.⁹ Only one witness, from the fifteenth century, is known.

The *Chronicon Varadiense* and the *Chronicon Zagradiense* survived inserted to the beginning of the statutes of the cathedral chapters of the two bishoprics.¹⁰ The Zagreb statutes were compiled in 1334 and expanded in 1354. Probably this, still existing, codex was used by *lector* Imre, when composing the Várad/Oradea statutes in 1374.¹¹ This would explain the extensive similarities. However, the Varadiense contains some additions or changes from a text of the Buda Chronicle family.

The *Knauz Chronicle* (*Chronicon Knauzianum*) and its family.¹² The texts of the five fifteenth to sixteenth century witnesses—known to the editor, Emma Bartoniek in 1938—have minor variants and go back to an unknown source, excerpting the Buda Chronicle some time after 1473. Several more related witnesses have been found since, all of them copied into sixteenth-century law books.¹³

Additionally, we know some other chronicles that made use of the compilation from Louis I's time. The *Munich Chronicle* (*Chronicon Monacense*) is an excerpt of the text from Louis I's time, leaving out the prologue and the *origo gentis* parts.¹⁴ The author must have used a version which ends, like the codices of the IC family, with a few words on the 1330 Wallachian campaign. It does not contain additions of source value and cannot be dated. The single witness is a fifteenth-century codex in the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The *Chronicle of Spišská Sobota/Szepesszombat* (*Chronicon Scepusiense*) survived in a manuscript form 1457, containing also the *Zipser Willkür* law code, and King Sigismund's 1433 charter confirming the privileges of the Germans of the region of Spiš (Slovakia), mostly written by one hand.¹⁵ The short German text covers the history of Hungary from 997 to 1457. Up to 1330, the author—probably a German laymen from Spiš—excerpted the text of the later fourteenth-century compilation,

⁸ BAGI 2017.

⁹ SRH II, 225–72.

¹⁰ SRH I, 195–215., VESZPRÉMY 2010b.

¹¹ SRH I, 197–202;

¹² SRH II, 321–45; see SPICHAŁA 2010a.

¹³ KERTÉSZ 2011, 33–34; MIKÓ 2012, 574.

¹⁴ SRH II, 53–86; see SPICHAŁA 2010b.

¹⁵ SRH II, 273–87; PIIRAINEN–POLLÁKOVÁ 2013, 35–52.

adding some data on his own region. It is very curt for 1330–1401, but thereafter quite extensive.

There is a Hungarian appendix to the universal chronicle of the Minorite *Johannes de Utino* (d. 1363) that originally covered world history from Creation to the sending out of the apostles, and then contained a list of popes and emperors, the authorship of which is, however, debated.¹⁶ The latter was expanded in the fifteenth century based on Martinus Polonus (d. 1278) and other texts. The version containing several references to Hungary was in all likelihood written for a Central European readership. In the later fifteenth century, it was also translated into German.¹⁷ Three Latin and three German manuscripts have an appendix with the names and pictures of the kings of Hungary down to 1459.¹⁸ It has been established that the author of the appendix used one of the Hungarian chronicles; most recently, that was identified as one from the family of the IC.

THURÓCZY'S CHRONICA

The most influential copy of the text of the compilation of c. 1358 was the printed *Chronica Hungarorum* of János (Johannes) Thuróczy.¹⁹ He came from a lesser noble family from County Turóc. There is no evidence of his higher education. He is first mentioned in charters in 1459 as a country gentleman, but later he earned his living as a lawyer. In 1465, he appears as advocate (*procurator*) in the court of the Judge Royal. Not much later, he became a notary in the same court. He reached his highest post in 1486, when King Matthias named Tamás Drági as chief justice of the *personalis presentia regia* high court, who, in turn, appointed Thuróczy as his protonotary. We can follow the historian's life to the summer of 1488, when he was still in that position.

Thuróczy wrote his chronicle encouraged by his superior, Drági, to whom it was dedicated.²⁰ It narrates the history of the Hungarians from their origins to his own times; the last event recorded is the capture of Wiener Neustadt by Matthias in August 1487. The beginning of the preface suggests a general interest in the past of the Magyars:

As we lived in these peaceful days a well-balanced life, various things came to the fore and during our conversations pleasant debates arose and there were even some mild quarrels in the heat of the discussions. For we have different views about the early history of the Hungarian people and even about which

¹⁶ VIZKELETY 1988, 289–309, OTT 2004, 801–803.

¹⁷ RADEK 2013, 45–55.

¹⁸ Edition of the Latin version *Analecta*, 75–86; *Joannis de Utino*, 266–75; VESZPRÉMY 2010c, 480.

¹⁹ See KOPÁR 2010; partial English translation, MANTELLO 1991; see TRINGLI 2008b, VESZPRÉMY 2010a.

²⁰ *Commentarii* 1, 41, MÁLYUSZ 1967, 81–100.

continent gave birth to them and spread them to the land which was earlier Pannonia and now called after the same people, Hungary. Finally, we decided to look up those old historical works that were compiled about these matters.

Regarding the afterlife of the Angevin-age chronicles, Thuróczy wrote in the *Soliloquium*, following the preface:

We find that the ancient chroniclers describe the origin of the Huns, that is, the Hungarians, differently and, consequently, people of the past and of the present, having diverse views, contradict each other to no small measure. For two volumes of chronicles were found which describe their origin and deeds—and which, we may safely state, were written during the time of the late blessed kings Charles and Louis. These diverge from the other historians, but also from each other particularly regarding the origin of these people.

The “two chronicles” are doubtlessly the two Angevin-age chronicles, suggesting that Thuróczy had access to both. For the early part, to the death of Charles I (1342), he used a variant that is closest to the Codex Csepregi from the family of the IC. The commentaries of the recent critical edition demonstrated that he also used the *Chronicon Budense*.

Through Thuróczy's *Chronica*, also translated into German and known in manuscripts as well, the tradition of the redaction from Louis I's time reached not only wider circles in Hungary, but also the wider European public.²¹ Even the famous Bavarian historian Veit Arnpeck mentioned the Hungarian chronicle in his *Chronica Baioariorum* (1491–95) referring his reader to the *Chronica Hungarorum* if they wish to have a deeper knowledge about Dietrich von Bern and Attila (Lib.I., ch. 20).²² Moreover, he discredited the Bavarian tradition of the mythical marriage between the Bavarian dukes Werner and Arnulf and two pagan Hungarian princesses, arguing that according to their written history the pagan Hungarians did not have kings but captains. On the other hand, a copy of Thuróczy's *Chronica* survived in the University Library of Salzburg.²³ Its contemporary reader found it biased and scanty regarding the early Hungarian history, and added long passages from Arnpeck's *Chronica*.

Thuróczy was the last native medieval chronicle author in Hungary. As his Latin was chided right away as archaic, soon after the publication of his book, Italian historians were commissioned to write a Hungarian history in appropriate Humanist

²¹ BODEMANN 2004, 797–801, BORECZKY 2010, 71–84.

²² ARNPECK, 1915, LHOTSKY 1963, 408–10.

²³ Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M I 451 (Augsburg, 1488), for the addition see fols.173r–204r), MÁLYUSZ 1946.

Latin.²⁴ The Dominican Petrus Ransanus, bishop of Lucera²⁵ and King Matthias's court historian, Antonio Bonfini²⁶ based their histories on the *Chronica Hungarorum*, augmented according to the taste of their times, dressed in fashionable Humanist garb. Still, Thuróczy's book was reprinted in 1600 by the first editor of medieval sources of Hungary, Jacques Bongars, and an early, pre-1515 Latin manuscript of it was found in his legacy. And with the abridged translation of Bonfini into the vernacular, the Protestant Gáspár Heltai (1510–74) made the chronicle tradition accessible to a wider readership.²⁷

THE CHRONICLES AND THE LAW

The chronicles were not only copied into sixteenth-century law-books, but were also occasionally adduced in legal matters earlier. There are a few references to “chronicles,” without, however, specifying, which of the redactions are meant.

In his so-called urban *decretum* of 15 April 1405, King Sigismund ordered that certain cities be surrounded by walls. He added:

One major consideration led us to these decisions, namely that this kingdom in times past, as one can read in the chronicles of the Hungarians, had to endure deplorable destruction, sorrowful abduction of people, and in general innumerable and inestimable damages horrible to relate, from different and frequent attacks, once by the Pechenegs, once by the Mongols, or other pagans, and more recently by the Turks, only because, owing to the lack of walled cities and other fortifications, there were no fortified places in which people with their goods could have found refuge and shelter, but were instead completely exposed unprotected, easy prey to the enemy.²⁸

Several urban privileges, issued in 1405, contain the very same words.²⁹ In some early charters of Sigismund, the *arengae* contain passages that go back to the *Liber Sextus* of Boniface VIII, used also in the Prologue of the redaction from Louis I's time.³⁰

In the preface of the Royal Propositions of 1432/3, specifying arrangements of the general levy, Sigismund again referred to historical examples gained from the chronicles:

²⁴ TRINGLI 2008a, 503–506.

²⁵ See SROKA 2010a.

²⁶ See SROKA 2010b.

²⁷ HELTAI 1981, 46–77.

²⁸ *DRMH* II, 35, 189–90.

²⁹ MÁLYUSZ 1969, 241.

³⁰ BÁCSATYAI 2015, 608–10.

These men, who are required to go to the army, should set out under the leadership of their own county's *ispán*, as was ancient custom, for which one may find example and guidance from the deeds particularly of king Solomon, duke Géza, Vid, *ispán* of Bács, and Jan, *ispán* of Sopron, who fought in the expeditions of that king and duke against the Greeks and Pechenegs around Belgrade with the troops of the counties of Bács and Sopron.³¹

The chronicles played a role in the authentication—and the forgery—of charters as well. In 1379, Judge Royal James Szepesi established, in reference to the chronicles, that a charter, allegedly issued in 1270 by Ladislas IV, was a forgery, since in that year not Ladislas IV (1272–90), but his father, Stephen V (1270–72) was king.³² In 1400, a charter, pretended to be issued by King Béla IV (1235–70) was presented for transcript to Pope Boniface VIII alleging that the village Tata was granted by Prince Géza (d. 997) and St. Stephen I to *ispán* Deodatus, who then gave it to the monastery of Tata.³³ The imaginary grantee's name was culled from the chronicles, going back to Simon's list of *advenae* kindreds.

These cases—and Thuróczy's preface—suggest that in the late medieval chancellery and among the personnel of the courts people were familiar with the fourteenth-century chronicles. Actually, we know that Peter Söptei, a notary of the chancellery, owned one, for on 5 November 1488, he granted, besides three vineyards in Buda, five printed books, among them a *Chonica Hungararum*, to the Austin friars of Buda.³⁴ This must have been the Buda Chronicle of 1473.

Thuróczy's Chronicle—and through it, the Angevin-age compositions—was the source of much of the political rhetoric of the nobility in the early sixteenth century. For example, the so-called Rákos Declaration of 1505, which challenged the Habsburgs' claim to the Hungarian throne and argued for a "national kingdom," that would reflect the "Scythian spirit," was probably formulated by the lawyer-politician Stephen Werbőczy (d. 1541) and echoed the fanciful *origo gentis* of some of the chronicles.³⁵ Werbőczy was member of the chancellery and then judge in the high courts, briefly even palatine. His main work was the famous collection of customary law, the *Tripartitum* (1514, printed in 1517). In that, he quoted verbatim from the chronicles (via Thuróczy) about the origin of servitude and nobility, the *lex regia* and the existence of an original *communitas* of all freemen. Remarkably, Werbőczy used the words of the chronicles about the "eternal servitude" of the rebellious peasants, not those of the law of 1514.

³¹ KOVACHICH 1798, 392–93; DRMH II, 142; cf. IC ch. 105, p. 201.

³² RA Nr. 2691.

³³ RA Nr. 1341.

³⁴ F. ROMHÁNYI 2004, 40.

³⁵ DRMH 5, 12–13.

THE CHRONICLES ABROAD

We know little about the reception and use of the chronicles beyond Hungary. This would need additional research. A few examples may suggest that there is more to be found. Of course, earlier chronicles also reached foreign audiences, so, for example, Simon's *Gesta* was known in Naples to Paulino da Venezia (d. 1344), bishop of Pozzuoli, who used in his *Satirica hystoria*. It came to be the source on matters Hungarian all across Italy. Nine witnesses are known, one of which was for a while in the hands of the Polish historian, Jan Długosz (1415–80).³⁶

One of the fourteenth-century redactions—according to Alphons Lhotsky, it was one from the IC-family—was used by Thomas Ebendorfer, Austrian historian, professor in Vienna, and author, among others, of a *Chronica Austriae*.³⁷ He mined the Hungarian text above all for the murder of Queen Gertrudis (1214), augmenting it with words from the *Admont Annals*.³⁸ It has been suggested that it would be worth studying his writings for additional connections as Ebendorfer may have also known a version of the Buda Chronicle family.³⁹

According to the aforementioned colophon in the Codex Teleki, the chronicle text was copied in 1462 from a manuscript that was given to the despot by the king of France. The note suggests that a codex, with a text from the family of the IC was at some point in France. It is not impossible that other manuscripts of the *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* also reached foreign courts as royal presents or otherwise.⁴⁰

It could not yet be ascertained, which of the chronicle redactions were used by the Carinthian priest Jacob Unrest (d. 1500) for his *Ungarische Chronik*, completed around 1490. Besides the printed Buda Chronicle and Thuróczy's text, he may have even had another, unknown chronicle in his hands.⁴¹

There are references to Hungarian chronicles in various library catalogues. There is an entry in the catalogue of the library of Pope Benedikt XIII (1394–1423) called *Cronica Ungarorum*, but it cannot be ascertained, which of the chronicles it refers to. In the same catalogue, there are references to a Spanish and a Sicilian chronicle, suggesting the historical interest of the Curia.⁴² Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre vicar of the archbishopric of Reims, who played an important role at the Synod of Constance, owed a rich library, which he granted (except two books) to the chapter of Reims.⁴³ The

³⁶ HEULLANT-DONAT 2000, 699–708.

³⁷ EBENDORFER 1967, XXXI–XXXII.

³⁸ Ibid. 109.

³⁹ VESZPRÉMY 2012, 594–95.

⁴⁰ VESZPRÉMY 2012, 593–94.

⁴¹ ARMBRUSTER 1974, 476–77; TRINGLI 2008a, 505.

⁴² VESZPRÉMY 2012, 594 n. 31.

⁴³ JEUDY, 2002.

1456–79 catalogue of the chapter lists 53 books connected to the cardinal, among them a 44-leaf sized *Historia Ungarorum*. It is possible that this manuscript reached Fillastre in connection with the synod, where a great number of Hungarian clerks and laymen was present.⁴⁴

In the fifteenth century, Hungary became the focus of international interest, due to the Habsburg and Jagiello involvement, the Ottoman advance, and the Hungarian campaigns to Moravia, Poland and Austria. It fits into this context that Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II, 1458–64), in a letter of 1453 to Nicolaus Barius (Bánfalvi), vicechancellor of the Secret Chancellery, mentioned that had written to John Vitéz of Zredna and asked for a book on Hungarian history: *petebam commodari mihi historiam Hungaricam*. He may have known that Vitéz, bishop of Oradea and head of the Secret Chancellery, was instrumental in the foundation of a printing shop and the publication of the Buda Chronicle.⁴⁵ In a different context the same Enea Silvio cautioned the young Hungarian King Ladislas V Posthumus from reading the Hungarian chronicles, for they are “the productions of mere ignorant Chroniclers, a farrago of nonsense and lies, destitute of attraction in form, in style, or in grave reflections.”⁴⁶

A TURKISH REDACTION OF THURÓCZY

Tarihi Ungurus, a history of Hungary in Turkish was written by a Christian renegade, born Sebold von Pibrach, son of the Jewish trader Jacob from Vienna, translator and diplomat of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66).⁴⁷ He tells that when the Ottomans took Székesfehérvár, he found—most likely in the library of the chapter—a chronicle on the history of the Hungarians (or even more than one). It has been suggested that he was that Turkish reader, who wrote marginalia into the IC, some of them erased, but mostly legible.⁴⁸ They are in Hungarian but in Arabic script, so they must have rather been written by one of his assistants, for example by Murad, born Balázs Somlyai, another translator of the Porte.

The *Tarihi* follows Thuróczy almost all the way. The most convincing proof for the use of his work is that the *Tarihi* contains whole chapters of Canon Rogerius’s report on the Mongol invasion that survived only as an appendix to the printed *Chronica*.

⁴⁴ JEUDY, 2002, 289.; CSUKOVITS 2014, 59.

⁴⁵ NICOLAUS BARIUS, 5. KERTÉSZ 2013, 103 n. 32.

⁴⁶ PICCOLOMINI 1912 (1450), ch. 6, p. 152.

⁴⁷ ÁCS 1998, HAZAI 2009.

⁴⁸ ZSINKA 1923, 249–50.

MODERN EDITIONS

Even if the Vienna librarians, by whom the IC was kept at least since the early seventeenth century, urged the publication of the IC, this had to wait until the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, in 1867.⁴⁹ It contained ten colored illustrations and a Hungarian translation. In 1870, Flóris Rómer, “the father of Hungarian archaeology,” suggested that the Vienna manuscript should be copied. A lesser-known painter of the times, János Bicsérdy was commissioned with the task and completed it in 1877.⁵⁰ This so-called Codex Bicsérdy was deposited in the Hungarian National Museum (now Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Fol. Lat. 3922.). The artist did not slavishly copy his model manuscript, here and there he reconstructed the flaked coat of paint, added the trimmed fleurons and some faded heraldic details. In some cases he misunderstood his model; for example on the frontispiece he changed the queen’s veil into grey hair and King Béla the Blind was portrayed—in contrast to the IC—with wide open eyes. The selected edition of the IC in 1938 was still illustrated with Bicsérdy’s copies. The first facsimile editions, with Hungarian, German, and English translations were then published between 1961 and 1969.



Fig. 1: Top of p. 1 of the IC in the Bicsérdy Codex (from WEHLI 2005, 73); cf. with the facsimile of the original, p. viii, above.

⁴⁹ TOLDY 1867.

⁵⁰ WEHLI 2005, 363–82.

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INDEX NOMINUM

A

Aba, ancient Hungarian kindred, 14, 50, 114, 119
 Abdulhamid II, Ottoman Sultan, 67
 Aeneas of Troy, 66, 134, 135, 196
 Ákos/Aciusius, Master, provost of Buda, chronicler, 13, 14, 15, 39, 118, 124
 Alcuin, scholar, writer, 140, 171
 Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, 34, 39, 44, 45, 60, 65, 91
 Álmos, prince, brother of King Coloman, 11, 12, 57, 69, 70, 74, 139, 141, 147, 148, 149, 150, 165, 166, 167, 172
 Almus/Álmos, chief of the Magyars, 11, 12, 57, 69, 70, 74, 130, 131, 132, 139, 141, 147, 148, 149, 150, 165, 166, 167, 172
 Althoff, Gerd, historian, medievalist, 140, 141, 147, 148, 154, 155
 Andrea da Firenze, Florentine painter, 64
 Andrea Dandolo, doge of Venice, 66, 67
 Andrew II, king of Hungary, 12, 15, 58, 112, 114, 161, 163, 166, 172
 Andrew I, king of Hungary, 8, 9, 40, 139, 150, 151, 159, 162, 170
 Anonymus (Pdictus magister) notary, chronicler, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 67, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 152, 162, 165, 175, 197
 Antal of Endrefalva, copist, 104, 121, 138, 182

Antenore, mythical founder of Padova, 66
 Apród, John Küküllei (Tótsolymosi), biographer, 37, 38
 Aquinas, Thomas, theologian, 35, 36
 Arany, János, poet, 11
 Aristotle, philosopher, 35, 36, 104, 106, 167, 168, 171, 172
 Arnpeck, Veit, historian, 186, 192
 Árpád, chief of the Hungarians, founder of the dynasty, 14, 17, 22, 49, 60, 86, 103, 108, 117, 121, 125, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 138, 157, 165, 166, 177, 180, 196
 Attila the Hun, xiii, 13, 20, 23, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 67, 70, 99, 114, 121, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 157, 158, 186, 193

B

Bacchus, antique Roman god, 134
 Barius (Bánfalvi), Nicolaus, vicechancellor of the Secret Chancellery, 190, 196
 Bartolo, Taddeo di, Sienese painter, 34, 105
 Bartoniek, Emma, historian, 1, 4, 10, 13, 37, 91, 145, 154, 160, 162, 163, 169, 170, 174, 184
 Basarab, voivode of Walachia, 49, 52, 53, 68, 70, 75, 76, 113
 Bátori, Hungarian magnate family, 49
 Bebek, Hungarian magnate family, 116, 119

Becket, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 160, 176
 Beer, Vienna bookbinder, 3
 Béla I, king of Hungary, 11, 139, 141, 145, 159, 172
 Béla II the Blind, king of Hungary, 12, 59, 171
 Béla III, king of Hungary, 12, 111, 112, 160, 162, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173
 Béla IV, king of Hungary, 15, 51, 58, 59, 111, 172, 188
 Benedek, parish priest of Szováta, 182
 Benedict XIII, pope, 171
 Berkovits, Ilona art historian, 26, 28, 55, 63, 86, 91, 92
 Beumann, Helmut, historian, 140, 154
 Bicsérdy, János, painter, 191, 198
 Bolesław III Wrymouth, duke of Poland, 8, 147, 151
 Bollók, János, Latinist, 20, 99, 124, 157, 164, 174, 197
 Bonfini, Antonio, Humanist historian, 133, 134, 136, 187, 196
 Bongars, Jacques, historian, 187
 Boniface VIII, pope, 37, 54, 187, 188
 Boucicaut Master, miniaturist, 65
 Bracton, Henry, lawyer, 169, 172
 Buchthal, Hugo, art historian, 66, 92
 Buffalmacco, Buonamico, Italian painter, 77, 91
 Buzád, Hungarian kindred, 49, 118

C

Callimachus Experiens (Filippo Buonanaccorsi) Humanist writer, 135, 137
 Casimir III, the Great, king of Poland, 28
 Cassiodorus Senator, writer, politician, 129
 Catherine, daughter of King Louis I of Hungary, 28, 29, 30, 32, 47, 56, 183
 Catherine of Alexandria, Saint, 28, 29, 30, 32, 47, 56, 183
 Cavallini, Pietro, Roman fresco painter and mosaicist, 81, 83, 90
 Cennini, Cennino Italian painter, 48, 80, 92
 Charles II "the Lame" king of Naples, 112

Charles I Robert, king of Hungary, 5, 7, 15, 76, 111, 181, 183, 186
 Charles IV, king of Bohemia, emperor, 41, 58, 86, 103, 147
 Charles Martell, prince of Naples, claimant to Hungary, 112
 Charles V, king of France, 35, 41, 91, 97
 Cicero, Roman senator, rhetorician, 140
 Coloman, king of Hungary, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 40, 57, 70, 86, 139, 141, 142, 145, 147, 149, 152, 160, 162, 171
 Conrad III, German-Roman emperor, 86
 Cosmas of Prague, chronicler, 7, 8, 16, 19, 144, 147, 152, 154
 Csák, Hungarian kindred, 117, 183

D

Dante Alighieri, poet, 66, 104
 Dathan and Abiram, Biblical sinners, 172
 David, king of Israel, 32, 72, 73, 108, 154, 156, 164, 169, 170, 171, 172
 Deodatus of San Severino, legendary immigrant knight, 117, 188
 Dercsényi, Dezső, art historian, 25, 26, 28, 29, 54, 55, 87, 94, 98, 99
 Dietrich von Bern, epic hero (=Theoderic), 186
 Digna, lady in Aquileia, 128
 Długosz, Jan, historian, 189
 Doncs comes of Zólyom, 120
 Doncs de genere Balassa, Hungarian nobleman, 116
 Dózsa of Debrecen, voivode of Transylvania, 120
 Drágyi, Tamás, chief justice, 185
 Dupré dal Poggetto, Ciardi, art historian, 90, 93

E

Ebendorfer, Thomas, historian, 189, 193
 Edward III king of England, claimant of France, 34, 42
 Elisabeth Kotromanič, queen of Louis I of Hungary, 29

Elisabeth Piast, queen of Charles I of Hungary, 6, 28, 30, 142
 Emeric/Imre, king of Hungary, 10, 40, 69, 89, 103, 112, 119, 121, 125, 162, 163, 164, 169, 170, 174, 184, 196
 Emeric/Imre, prince of Hungary, Saint, 10, 40, 69, 89, 103, 112, 119, 121, 125, 162, 163, 164, 169, 170, 174, 184, 196
 Etzel (= Attila), xiii, 13, 20, 23, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 67, 70, 99, 114, 121, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 157, 158, 186, 193

F

Filippo di Sangineto, Seneschal of Provence, 59
 Forgách, Hungarian noble family, 116
 Francis, of Assisi, Saint, 64, 77, 79
 Frederick I Barbarossa, German-Roman emperor, 166

G

Gaddi, Taddeo, Florentine painter and architect, 77, 79, 80
 "Gallus Anonymus," chronicler, 8, 16, 18, 19, 151, 152, 162, 165
 Garai, Nicholas, count palatine of Hungary, 56
 Gelre, Dutch herold, 115
 Gentilis (Gentile di Fabriano), cardinal, papal legate to Hungary, 32
 Gerhard, bishop of Cenad/Csanád, 71, 75, 105, 106
 Géza, grand duke of the Hungarians, 8, 11, 12, 49, 50, 58, 68, 70, 98, 103, 141, 159, 160, 162, 171, 175, 188
 Géza II, king of Hungary, 12, 58, 70, 171
 Géza I, king of Hungary, 11, 141, 159, 162
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, Florentine sculptor, 81
 Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus), scholastic philosopher, 34, 35, 37
 Giotto (di Bondone), Italian painter, 61, 64, 73, 74, 77, 80, 81, 93

Gisela, queen of St Stephen of Hungary, 10, 58
 Godfrey of Viterbo, imperial secretary, chronicler, 127
 Gog and Magog, Biblical giants, 65, 91, 132
 Goliath, Philistine giant, 164
 Gregory, bishop of Tours, chronicler, 128, 137
 Gregory VII, pope, 141, 159, 160
 Gregory IX, pope, 161
 Guido delle Colonne, Italian judge and writer, 65, 66, 67
 Guidorriccio da Fogliano, Siennese commander, 82
 Guoth, Kálmán, historian, archivist, 163, 164, 165, 176
 Gutkeled, ancient Hungarian kindred, 49, 117, 118, 119
 Gyula de genere Kán, count palatine, 6, 21, 30, 63, 98, 99, 100, 120, 121, 124, 130, 136, 138, 157, 177, 180
 Gyula, prince of Transylvania, 6, 21, 30, 63, 98, 99, 100, 120, 121, 124, 130, 136, 138, 157, 177, 180

H

Ham son of Noah, 5, 38
 Hartvic, bishop of Győr, 13, 83, 160, 162, 163, 177, 184
 Héder, Hungarian kindred, 49, 118, 119
 Heltai, Gáspár, preacher, publisher, 187, 194
 Henry III, German–Roman emperor, 41, 58
 Henry III, king of France, 41, 42, 50, 58, 86, 160
 Henry II, king of England, 145, 160
 Henry IV, German-Roman emperor, 41, 58, 86, 141, 150, 159
 Hercules, Roman mythological hero, 134, 135
 Hermán/Hermány, Hungarian kindred, 49, 118, 119
 Hertul, Master, court painter in Hungary, 27
 Hess, Andreas, printer, 5, 22, 181, 182
 Hoffmann, Edith, art historian, 25, 27, 28, 97, 153
 Honorius III, pope, 161
 Hont-Pázmány, Hungarian kindred, 49, 118
 Hugh Capet, king of France, 151, 152

Hunor and Magor, legendary ancestors of
Huns and Magyars, 131

I

Ilona (Helena), queen of Béla II of Hungary,
28, 57, 63, 70, 91, 92, 98, 193
Isidore of Seville, church father, 169

J

Jacob, Jewish trader in Vienna, 189, 190
Jakubovich, Emil, Latinist, historian, 27, 28,
29, 34, 98, 165
Japheth, son of Noah, 38, 65, 130, 131
Jaromir, Duke of Bohemia, 147
Jesus, 81, 146
Johannes de Utino, chronicler, 5, 22, 98, 108,
124, 138, 180, 181, 185, 192, 193, 194,
196, 197
John of Salisbury, writer, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 58,
72, 95, 98, 168, 169, 172, 182, 190, 197
Jolsvai, Hungarian kindred, 49
Jordanes, historian of the Goths, 129, 132, 137

K

Kálti, Márk, custos of Székesfehérvár,
probable editor of IC, 6, 7, 30, 36, 37, 38
Kaplony, Hungarian noble kindred, 119
Kean, duke of the Bulgarians, 67
Kétyi (or Egri), John, Minorite, chronicler,
38, 87
Kolos of Néma, Hungarian nobleman, 116, 124
Koppány, duke of the Hungarians, 77, 117
Kraelitz, Vienna bookbinder, 3
Kristó, Gyula, historian, 6, 21, 30, 38, 55, 63,
87, 98, 99, 108, 121, 124, 130, 138, 144,
149, 157, 168, 177, 180, 193, 194

L

Lackfi Hungarian kindred, 39, 49, 118, 119, 120
Lackfi, István, count palatine of Hungary, 38,
39

Ladislav III, king of Hungary, 58, 70, 86, 163
Ladislav I, king of Hungary, saint, xiii, 10, 141
Ladislav IV the Cuman, king of Hungary, 13,
15, 89, 188
Lambeck Peter, Präfekt of the Hofbibliothek,
Vienna, 2, 3, 4
Leo I, pope, 128
Levente, Hungarian prince, 142, 151
Lhotsky, Alphons, historian, 186, 189, 193, 195
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, Siennese painter, 34, 64,
77, 95, 105
Louis I the Great, king of Hungary, 5, 27, 30,
31, 38, 54, 61, 67, 100, 107, 113, 114,
182, 183, 184, 186, 187
Louis IX, king of France Saint, 112
Louis of Orléans, prince of France, 28
Louis of Taranto, prince consort of Naples,
56, 57, 90

M

Maestro del Codice di San Giorgio, miniator,
90, 93
Mars, ancient Roman god, 134
Marsilius of Padova, writer, political theorist,
37
Martini, Simone, Italian painter, 33, 59, 60,
69, 77, 82, 92, 95, 101, 103, 104
Martinus Polonus (of Troppau), chronicler,
185, 195
Mary, daughter of King Stephen V, queen of
Naples, 112
Matthias I Corvinus, king of Hungary, 182
Memnon of Troy, king of the Ethiopians, 66
Minorite, anonymous chronicler, 15, 16, 22,
38, 87, 182, 185
Miskolc, ancient Hungarian kindred, 119
Murad (born Balázs Somlyai), translator, 190,
192

N

Nagymartoni, Hungarian kindred, 125
Newton, Stella Mary, historian of costume,
56, 60, 61, 64, 68, 103

Nicholas *de genere* Pok, voivode of
Transylvania, 16
Nicholas, Hertul's son ("Miklós Meggyesi"),
court painter in Hungary, 27
Nicolaus de Lyra, theologian, Bible
commentator, 37, 138, 190, 196
Nimrod/Menrot, Biblical hero, 37, 38

O

Oldřich/Ulrich, duke of Bohemia, 147
Opos the Brave, Hungarian warrior, 11
Orimina, Cristoforo, miniaturist, 56, 57, 90,
103
Oswald of Laska/Laskai, Franciscan preacher,
137
Otto, duke of Nordheim, 129
Otto II, German-Roman emperor, 151
Ottokar, king of Bohemia, 51
Otto of Bamberg, bishop, missionary, saint,
142
Örs, Hungarian chieftain, 48

P

Paksi, Hungarian kindred, 49
Panofsky, Erwin, art historian, 69
Paris of Troy, 67, 89
Paulino da Venezia, bishop of Pozzuoli, 189
Paulinus Minorita, bishop, chronicler, 67
Pelbartus of Temesvár/Timișoara, preacher,
170
Peter (Orseolo), king of Hungary, 147
Petrarch, poet, writer, 81, 110
Petrus Comestor, theologian, 37, 38, 71, 187
Philip VI, king of France, 42
Pibrach, Sebald von, translator, diplomat, 190
Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (Pope Pius II),
Humanist, 190, 196
Planisio, Matteo, miniaturist, 82
Pogány of Cséb and Enyere, Hungarian
nobleman, 116
Polzer, Joseph, art historian, 60, 64, 104
Poth, Hungarian kindred, 49, 118
Priam, king of Troy, 167

Priscus of Panium/Rhetor, Byzantine
diplomat, writer, 129
Prokopp, Maria, art historian, 60, 67, 104
Protesilaus, hero in the Iliad, 66
Pseudo- Rufinus, assumed author, 43, 66,
106, 169, 171

R

Rainold of Veszprém, comes/ispán, 120
Ransanus, Petrus, bishop of Lucera, Humanist
historian, 187, 196
Ratold Hungarian kindred, 49, 118
Recht, Roland, art historian, 87, 89, 104
Richard, canon of Holy Trinity, London, 73,
166
Richer of Reims, chronicler, 151, 152, 153
Robert the Wise, king of Naples, 33
Roland *de genere* Rátót, Hungarian
nobleman, 119
Rómer, Flóris, archaeologist, 191
Rudolf IV Duke of Austria, 56, 184
Rusuti, Filippo, Italian painter, 83, 84

S

Sarolt, duchess (wife of Grand duke Géza), 83
Schmidt, Gerhard, art historian, 44, 56, 58,
71, 73, 74, 75, 82, 90, 105, 106, 167, 178
Simon, high priest in Jerusalem, 163, 164
Simon of Kéza, chronicler, 13, 15, 21, 35, 39,
49, 50, 67, 83, 108, 114, 118, 131, 132,
138, 175, 180, 196
Solomon, king of Hungary, 8, 9, 11, 12, 32,
38, 41, 45, 50, 51, 57, 69, 70, 114, 141,
150, 151, 159, 160, 162, 170, 171, 188
Solomon, king of Israel, 8, 9, 11, 12, 32, 38,
41, 45, 50, 51, 57, 69, 70, 114, 141, 150,
151, 159, 160, 162, 170, 171, 188
Söptei, Peter, notary, 188, 193
Stephan II, king of Hungary, 139, 149, 150
Stephen III, king of Hungary, 12, 30, 58, 67,
171
Stephen I, king of Hungary Saint, 8, 139, 188
Stephen IV, king of Hungary, 58

Suleiman the Magnificent, Ottoman sultan, 190
 Szabolcs, Hungarian chieftain, 94, 109, 113, 117, 125, 180
 Szécsényi, Tamás, voivode of Transylvania, 116, 120
 Szécsi *de genere* Gutkeled, Hungarian baron, 49, 117, 118, 119
 Szécsi, Dezső, 53
 Szepesi, James, Judge Royal, 188
 Szigethi, Ágnes, art historian, 54, 70, 77, 89, 107

T

Tarnai, Andor, literary historian, 30, 37, 108
 Telegdi, Csanád, archbishop of Esztergom, 181
 Tengnagel, Sebastian, Präfekt of the Hofbibliothek Vienna, 2, 4
 Thomas, clerk of N, copist, 18, 20, 35, 36, 160, 175, 176, 182, 189, 193
 Thuróczy or Turocius, Johannes/János, history writer, 2, 3, 5, 6, 15, 17, 22, 35, 38, 63, 88, 101, 108, 133, 134, 138, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 195
 Toldy, Ferenc, literary scholar, 18, 108, 182, 183, 191, 192, 197
 Tonuzoba, pagan chief, 172
 Totila, leader of the Ostrogoths, 128

U

Ugrin Újlaki *de genere* Csák, baron, 116, 183
 Újlaki, Hungarian baronial family, 116, 183
 Unrest, Jacob, historian, 189
 Urban II, pope, 162
 Ursula, martyr Saint, 60, 128, 132, 133

V

Vajay, Szabolcs de, historian, genealogist, 29, 63, 94, 109, 113, 116, 117, 125, 167, 168, 171, 180
 Vásári, Miklós, archbishop of Esztergom, 39, 61, 95
 Vazul, Hungarian prince, cousin of St. Stephan, 8, 10, 69, 142, 147
 Vecellin, German knight in the service of St. Stephan, 117
 Vegetius Renatus, late Roman writer, 38
 Venus, antique Roman goddess, 134
 Vérbulcsu, Hungarian chieftain, 48
 Vid, ispán, counselor of king Solomon of Hungary, 51, 70, 188
 Vitéz of Zredna, John, bishop of Oradea &c., 190
 Vladislav I, duke of Bohemia, 147

W

Wehli, Tünde, art historian, 25, 26, 27, 34, 43, 45, 54, 61, 74, 97, 109, 110, 191, 198
 Werbőczy, Stephen, lawyer, politician, 15, 188, 193
 Werner and Arnulf, legendary dukes of Bavaria, 20, 99, 137, 146, 156, 186, 197
 Widukind of Corvey, chronicler, 140, 154

Z

Záh, Felicián, Hungarian noble, would-be assassin, 31, 74
 Zbigniew, prince of Poland, 19, 148, 151, 155
 Zotmund, diver, Hungarian hero, 139
 Zsámboki/Sambucus Johannes, Hungarian Humanist, 5, 6, 14, 15, 181, 183

The present volume of studies is the first Subsidium of the Central European Medieval Text series, accompanying CEMT vol. 9 on the Illuminated Chronicle (formerly called the Vienna Chronicle), written in the fourteenth century, which represents the international artistic style at the royal court of Louis I of Hungary. The volume of the text and its annotations did not allow including the detailed scholarly introduction into the same volume as is the custom with the other CEMT items.

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